

Evidence for Proposed Finding against Federal Acknowledgment

of the

Tehinouk Indians of Oregon

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian tribe.

Signature:

Theodore G. Kennedy

Date:

5/30/85

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
MAPS	4
SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA	6
83.7(a)	7
83.7(b)	8
83.7(c)	9
83.7(d)	10
83.7(e)	10
83.7(f)	11
83.7(g)	11
HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS	13
83.7(a)-(c)	13
An Explanation of "Tchinouk"	16
The Chinookan Bands	16
The Aboriginal Culture	19
Early History to 1830	21
French Prairie	24
Migration to Southwestern Oregon	28
Intermarriage on Klamath	30
Identification as Indian in the 20th Century	33
Organization to 1954	35
Termination	38
Organization Since 1954	39
ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS OF OREGON	44
83.7 (b, a, c, g)	44
Introduction	46
Early Historical Background	47
Definition of Populations Studied	49
Sutherlin Area Indian Families, 1870's to 1920's	50
Relationship with the Federal Government	53
History of Organizations, 1922 to 1940	55
Federal Status During the Collier Era, 1933-45	57
Claims Cases and Organization, 1947-57	59
Termination	61
The Tchinouk Indians, 1974 to the Present	62
Identification as Indian	66

GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS	69
83.7(d)	69
83.7(e)	69
Family of the Unnamed Chinook Woman	70
Lisette Chinook Family	71
Inter-Family Ties	72
Ineligible Members	72
Summary	73
Previous Tchinouk Membership List	73
Western Oregon Judgment Funds	73
Affiliation with Other Tribes	74
83.7(f)	74

SOURCE MATERIALS	75
Published Works	75
Unpublished Materials	80
Federal Records	82
State and County Records	88
Petitioner Organization Documents	88
Documents of Other Organizations	89
Censuses and Rolls	91
Field Data	93
Abbreviations	93

INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to a petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs from the Tchinouk Indians of Oregon seeking Federal acknowledgment as a tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

Part 83 (25 CFR) establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of an existing government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven mandatory criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR. Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

A summary of the evidence evaluated under each of the acknowledgment criteria follows. Reports detailing the evidence relied upon and a list of source materials is also attached. A table of contents and two maps are provided immediately following this page.

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the Federal Register initiates a 120-day response period during which factual and/or legal arguments and evidence to rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other interested party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, South Interior Building - Room 32, 1951 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20245, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, (Code 440B).

After consideration of all written arguments and evidence received during the 120-day response period, the Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the Federal Register within 60 days of the expiration of the 120-day response period. This determination will become effective 60 days from its date of publication unless the Secretary of the Interior requests the Assistant Secretary to reconsider.

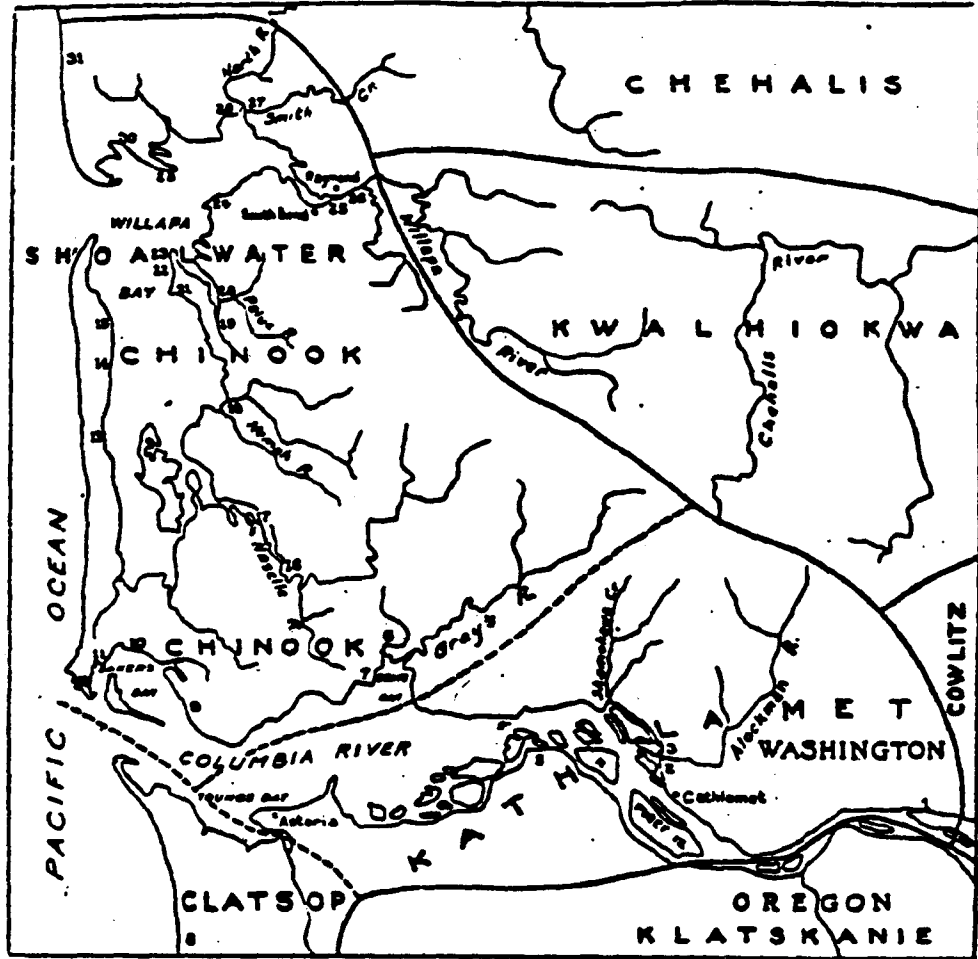


FIG. 1. Map of the territory of the Lower Chinook about 1800. Figures represent villages; see list in text. Solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; broken lines indicate dialect boundaries.

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA IN 83.7(a) - (g)

General Conclusions

The Tchinouk Indians descend from an unknown band or bands of the Chinook Indians who inhabited the Columbia River Basin in Oregon and Washington. The specific band, and whether Lower or Upper Chinook, could not be determined. Tchinouk and Chinook are pronounced the same, and for the purpose of this proposed finding Tchinouk should be understood as referring to the petitioning group and Chinook as referring to the aboriginal tribe. The documented history of the Chinooks began in 1788. The vast majority of this aboriginal population died in an epidemic in the 1830's. The Tchinouk Indians generally trace their Chinook ancestry to two Chinook women who married French-Canadian traders prior to 1830. These individuals settled in the French Prairie region of northwestern Oregon in the 1830's, becoming part of the community there of French-Canadians and mixed-bloods.

By the late 1870's many of the mixed-blood descendants of these Tchinouk families, along with other mixed-bloods, had migrated to Douglas and Lane counties in southwestern Oregon. Many lived near Sutherlin, in an area with many Indians and mixed-bloods from different parts of Oregon, with whom they developed some kinship ties. After 1900, a few of the Tchinouks moved east to the Klamath Indian Reservation in southern Oregon, intermarrying with the local Indian community.

The mixed-blood families in the Sutherlin area did not form a distinct Indian community, although many were individually identified as Indians of one tribe or another. There was no known leadership or other political structure which governed them as a distinct body of people.

The Tchinouk Indians have only had a formal structure since organizing in 1974. Prior to 1957 most of the group members were identified as being members of other tribal groups (usually Umpqua). As such, they participated in various Indian claims organizations which began in the 1920s. None of these organizations served as a political entity governing the group's membership. The Tchinouk have only been identified as a Chinook group since their organization in 1974.

The group's constitution and bylaws describe how membership is determined and how the governing body functions. Approximately 94 percent of the group's 304 members can document descendancy from one or both of the original Chinook ancestors and meet the group's membership criteria. The other 6 percent were found ineligible for membership due to the fact that their ancestry could not be determined or they did not have Chinook ancestry. Only one of the group members belongs to any other tribe. Detailed research led to the conclusion that the Tchinouk Indians are forbidden the Federal trust relationship by the Western Oregon Termination Act of 1954. Even if it were determined that this act did not apply to the petitioner, the group would still fail to meet three of the acknowledgment criteria.

We conclude that the Tchinouk Indians meet criteria d, e, and f, but do not meet criteria a, b, c, or g of Section 83.7 of the Acknowledgment regulations.

83.7(i) A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.

The Tchinouk Indians descend from bands of the aboriginal Chinook Indians who inhabited villages adjacent to the Columbia River in northern Oregon and southwestern Washington. It could not be determined whether they descended from the Lower Chinookan peoples (including the Clatsops and Chinooks Proper) who lived downstream from Oak Point to the Pacific, or the Upper Chinookan bands who lived upstream from Oak Point to the Dalles. An epidemic in the 1830's killed between 75 and 90 percent of this aboriginal population. Many observers have concluded that some if not all of the traditional political organization of the Chinook villages ceased to function after this catastrophe.

The petitioning group generally traces its genealogy to two Chinook women who married French-Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company prior to 1830. These couples settled with other mixed-bloods in an agricultural settlement known as French Prairie in the Willamette Valley of northwestern Oregon. This community was viewed as distinct because it was primarily French-Canadian and Roman Catholic and not because it had a large Indian population. During the fifty or more years their descendants lived in the French Prairie community, they were never identified as being part of an organized or distinct Indian group.

By the late 1870's, many of these descendants had left the aboriginal Chinook territory and migrated from French Prairie to various small communities in Lane and Douglas counties, up to 150 miles southwest of their French Prairie farms. Here they settled in the aboriginal area of the Umpqua and Molalla Indians and their tribal identification became confused as they began to associate with families of varying tribal backgrounds. Generally they came to identify themselves and to be identified by others as being members of tribal groups other than Chinook. Some present Tchinouk group members or their ancestors were counted as being part of these family clusters. In 1939, the Office of Indian Affairs identified a group of twenty or more "Umpqua" families living in four communities in Douglas County, including Sutherlin.

Although the Federal Government never acknowledged the Chinook descendants as being a distinct tribal entity, it did recognize a few of them as being of Indian descent, and eligible for services. Two descendants received allotments on the public domain in Douglas County. The descendants of one, some of whom were enrolled on the Grand Ronde Reservation, were consistently identified as being Chinook. Most of this latter family line is not represented in the current Tchinouk membership, but many group members can claim the two allottees among their collateral relatives.

After 1900, two descendants married members of the Klamath Reservation community in southern Oregon. Some of their children were allotted lands on this reservation and many of their grandchildren were enrolled in the Klamath Tribe and were thereafter identified as being Klamath Indians.

Only a few individuals appear on BIA census rolls, especially before 1940. Many descendants, both from western Oregon and from the Klamath area, attended Indian boarding schools, received medical and other trust services from the Federal Government, and inherited interests in allotments. Only a very few of these were identified in

Federal records as being Chinooks. None were identified by the alternative spelling of Tchinouk. In the public records of Douglas County descendants were most often identified as being white, whereas in Klamath County, they were usually identified as being Indian, although never as Chinooks or Tchinouks. The vast majority of the petitioning group did not identify themselves as Chinook Indians, and none identified themselves as Tchinouks, until after the Bureau of Indian Affairs determined in 1957, in regard to the Western Oregon Judgment Fund award, that they were of Chinook ancestry. Individuals had applied as Umpqua, Calapuya, and Molalla. Subsequently they incorporated as the Tchinouk Indians in 1974.

The Tchinouk Indians have been identified as a group of Chinook descendants only recently, with some identification after 1957 and most after 1974, when they organized. They have been identified by the Chinook Nation of Washington State, an unrecognized group, the Oregon Commission on Indian Services, the Native American Rights Fund, the American Indian Policy Review Commission, and several local Indian groups and organizations in Oregon. Their petition for acknowledgment is supported by the Klamath Tribe, a terminated tribe.

The Oregon Commission on Indian Services has declined to support or oppose the acknowledgment petition. The Chinook Tribe, Inc., a unrecognized group in Washington and a petitioner, challenged the Tchinouk's claim to be derived from the Lower Chinook, the aboriginal bands from which the Chinook Tribe, Inc., claims descent.

The Tchinouk Indians have not been identified on a substantially continuous basis as an American Indian tribe from historical times until the present and have therefore not met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(a).

83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.

The church records of the Catholic Mission of the Willamette at present-day St. Paul, Oregon, sufficiently verify that the Tchinouk Indians descend from the Chinook Indians who historically inhabited the Columbia River Basin. However, these records do not delineate the specific bands of those tribal members listed as Chinook. The Chinook descendants on French Prairie (1832-1877) were integrated into a mixed-blood community in which at least fourteen other tribal groups were represented. Yet this community was viewed as distinct from other populations in the area due to the fact that it was French-Canadian and Roman Catholic and not because it had a sizeable Indian population. When the Chinook descendants from French Prairie migrated to Lane and Douglas counties they left the aboriginal Chinook lands and settled in various scattered areas.

The Tchinouk families became part of a collection of mixed-blood and full-blood families which settled on lands near Sutherlin, Oregon, in Douglas County beginning in the 1870's. Many of these families had migrated from the French Prairie settlement. The first Tchinouk family came in the late 1870's, probably after living at several intermediate locations before reaching the Sutherlin area. A few mixed-bloods and remnants of middle and southern Oregon Indian tribes were already resident in the general area in 1870.

Through intermarriage and common residence, there developed in the Sutherlin area an interconnected and somewhat localized set of families, mostly mixed-bloods. There was

no evidence found that this collection of families was identified as a distinct community, although there was some degree of identification of individuals, not always consistently, as Indians in the local records between 1880 and 1920. Two individuals from the Tchinouk families married Indians from the Klamath Reservation around 1900 and came to form a small population in that area. These families continued to maintain contact with the Sutherlin area families but also participated in the local Indian community on the Klamath Reservation. Claims organizations formed in 1922 and 1935 encompassed the broader Indian population in the Umpqua Valley area of Douglas County, treating the Sutherlin area as one of several districts.

Since 1920, the Sutherlin area Indian families have become somewhat more dispersed. The Tchinouk families are still somewhat localized in the Sutherlin area, with additional families still near the former Klamath Reservation. No specific location is predominantly occupied by the Tchinouk families and there is no identified or distinct community of them. There is still some cohesion among the members based on a sense of being kinsmen, by virtue of several intermarriages between the family lines which make up the membership. Interfamily contact among the families resident in different parts of Oregon has occurred since the 1880's, although considerably diminished at present. The group's membership criteria defines the group in terms of four specific, interrelated families, as well as being of Tchinouk descent.

The Tchinouk have not formed a distinct community, identified as Indian, since the origins of the component families in the 1820's and 1830's. It therefore does not meet the criterion found in 25 CFR 83.7(b).

83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

The Tchinouk Indians have not been part of a distinct Indian community since their ancestors became part of the French Prairie settlement. There was thus no evidence found of leaders or of other tribal political processes governing the Tchinouk ancestors during the period they were resident at French Prairie or subsequently. The families became part of the collection of related Indian families in the Sutherlin area which formed beginning around 1880. There are no known leaders or other evidence of political processes governing this group of families as a whole or the families ancestral to the Tchinouk that formed part of this population.

The Tchinouk families have been part of a series of organizations between 1922 and the present. These organizations have not been continuously existent and the earlier ones included a broader group of families than the Tchinouk or the Sutherlin area families of which they were a part. Tchinouk family members were part of the Consolidated Tribes of Western Oregon, formed in 1922 to pursue treaty rights. This organization, which identified itself as Umpqua, was part of a larger movement in Oregon to pursue such claims. Its membership included a variety of mixed-blood Indian families from the Umpqua Valley area of Douglas County, Oregon, i.e., it was broader than the Sutherlin area. It is unclear how long it functioned or if Tchinouk families participated in an organization known as the Umpqua Tribe, formed in 1926, which apparently broke away from the original 1922 organization. Claims committees were formed again in 1935 and 1936, subsequent to the 1935 passage of an act allowing suit in the Court of Claims for losses under ratified and unratified treaties.

Some degree of organizational activity concerning claims, including the conduct of meetings, occurred during the late 1930's and after 1945, although the only documented meeting was a 1947 meeting, of the "Sutherlin Group of Indians." These meetings were primarily concerned with claims, although later meetings, in the 1950's, were also concerned with obtaining services from the BIA under the Western Oregon Termination Act of 1954. The group mostly identified itself as Umpqua in these activities. Formal organization ended about 1957, after members were rejected for payment under the Western Oregon Judgement Fund. Members had applied as Umpqua, Molalla and Calapuya, but were determined to be of Chinook descent by the Portland Area Office of the BIA.

The petitioning organization, the Tchinouk Indians, Inc. was organized in 1974, in response to meetings concerning the judgment awarded the Chinooks in Docket 234 before the Indian Claims Commission. It has sought Federal recognition, land, and hunting and fishing rights.

None of the formal organizations that the Tchinouk were part of for varying periods after 1922 were concerned with other than specific questions, such as treaty claims. They did not exercise tribal political influence over their members nor otherwise broadly influence their members. While there was a base of family and kinship relationships within the membership, there is no evidence of an informal leadership or other political process governing these families and underlying the formal organizations. Therefore the Tchinouk do not meet the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(c).

83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document, or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.

The Tchinouk submitted a copy of the group's governing documents which describes how the group governs its affairs and its membership and describes membership criteria and procedures. The documents include the group's "By-Laws of the General Council of Tchinouk Indians" and the "Constitution . . . General Council of Tchinouk Indians . . . Amended", and the "Rights: Including All Rights of the American Indian Civil Rights for the General Council of Tchinouk Indians," all dated May 6, 1977.

Therefore we conclude that the Tchinouk Indian group meets the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(d).

83.7(e) A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descentancy from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

A list of 304 current members was submitted with the group's petition. Membership criteria described in the group's governing documents and other materials submitted with the petition includes proof of Tchinouk Indian ancestry, completion of an enrollment form and "being of the families of the Parazoo, Pelland, Plueard or bloodline of same."

Two hundred eighty-seven of the members have established or are expected to be able to establish Chinook Indian ancestry and meet the group's membership criteria based

on information now available. This represents approximately 94 percent of the total membership. All 287 individuals have, or are expected to be able to trace their ancestry to one of two early Chinook ancestors: Lisette Tchinouk and the unnamed Tchinouk woman who married Jean Baptiste Perrault. The remaining 17 individuals, or approximately 6 percent of the total membership, were either found to be ineligible or insufficient information to make a determination was provided by the petitioner or located by the Acknowledgment staff.

The Tchinouk group has claimed to descend from the Lower and Middle Bands of Chinook Indians. Research conducted by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research could not conclusively establish to which band the two ancestors of the group (Lisette Tchinouk and the unnamed Tchinouk woman) were affiliated. The two ancestors are clearly of Chinook Indian blood despite the inability to specify which band. One early Bureau determination, in 1914, listed one major family as Upper Chinook, rejecting Lower Chinook.

The group submitted a copy of a former list of members that was prepared about 1974. The list contains 189 individuals. Generally this earlier list includes the same individuals and families as the current membership list. The current list has many additional members but they are generally from the same families that were on the 1974 Tchinouk membership list.

Based on the information submitted by the group and on the Bureau of Indian Affairs research, we find that approximately 94 percent of the total membership meets the group's own defined membership criteria and are of Chinook Indian ancestry. We therefore conclude that the Tchinouk Indian group meets the criterion in 83.7(e) of the regulations.

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

The discussion of membership criteria in the governing document of the Tchinouk specifically states, "Indians enrolled with other tribes, will not be enrolled." Previous membership lists appear to have been revised by the group and deletion made of any individuals that may have been enrolled with other North American Indian Tribes. No relatives from the terminated Klamath Tribe and the recently recognized Cow Creek Umpqua were included. One current Tchinouk member is also currently enrolled with the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. We conclude therefore that the Tchinouk Indians meet the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(f).

83.7(g) The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

The Tchinouk sought acknowledgment under 25 CFR 83 even though many members had received termination services in 1955 and 1956 under the Western Oregon Termination Act and the act includes the "Chinook" as one of the bands listed as terminated. They were advised by a law professor they consulted and by their legal representative that the act did not apply to them (Wilkinson 1975). Their legal counsel also advised the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research of his opinion that the act did not apply to the Tchinouks (Thierolf 1984).

The Tchinouk's legal representative based his opinion on the fact that although individual members were dealt with by the Federal Government as Indians, the group was unrecognized, had never been dealt with as a group by the Federal Government, and no tribal property had been held in trust for it. He interpreted the act's statement of the Indians to which it applied to be limited to members of recognized groups. He also argued that the "Chinook" listed in the termination act referred to those Chinooks who became part of the Grand Ronde Reservation.

A preliminary review by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research of the available evidence at the beginning of active consideration of the Tchinouk case indicated a significant degree of ambiguity concerning the termination act and its applicability to the membership of the Tchinouk. For these reasons, active consideration of the case was continued.

The Western Oregon Termination Act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 724) provided for termination of Federal services to Western Oregon Indians based on their status as Indians and the termination of the trust status of the lands of these Indians. The latter included individual trust allotments (reservation and non-reservation) as well as the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations themselves. The act terminated any "tribe, band, group or community of Indians west of the Cascade Mountains of Oregon," including the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations and a list of some 58 tribes and bands. Although the act did not specifically refer to the petitioner, the inclusive character of this language, and the inclusive intent of the act, based on BIA and legislative records concerning development and implementation of the act, indicates this language would forbid the Federal relationship as Indians to members of the Tchinouk group.

The Tchinouk families were part of a large population of non-reservation Indians, known as the "Southwestern Oregon Indians," who had generally received some limited services including allotments and education. Hearings and reports preliminary to termination refer consistently to this category and to some specific groups or communities within it, although not to the Tchinouk or to the Umpqua, as they then identified themselves. The termination act did not refer to this diverse population by name. It provided instead a list of all of the bands extant in Western Oregon in 1855, in the treaty era. This device was apparently used because of the mixed tribal background of the two Western Oregon Reservations, Grand Ronde and Siletz, and the equally mixed character of the non-reservation Southwestern Oregon Indians who were related to the reservation populations and derived from the same diverse tribal background. Thus the inclusion of the names "Chinook" and "Upper Umpqua" on the list was not a reference to the petitioning group.

Many of the petitioning group's members were given termination services under Section 13 of the termination act, although many had not received services previously and many if not most do not appear on the available rolls of Southwestern Oregon Indians. The latest of these rolls is from 1940. It is clear the act was viewed by the BIA as applying to these individuals even though they were not part of a distinct recognized tribe. They were part of the category of Southwestern Oregon Indians, who were considered eligible for services and under Indian Service jurisdiction, and who had been considered for organization of tribal government in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

Based on the inclusive language of the act and BIA policies and legislative records concerning the act, we conclude that the Western Oregon Termination Act applies to the Tchinouk even though they were not previously recognized as a distinct tribe. The Tchinouk are the subject of legislation forbidding the Federal relationship and therefore do not meet the requirements of the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(g).

HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS

"Tchinouk" is one of the variable French spellings of the term which is more commonly written as "Chinook" in English. The two words are pronounced the same. For the purposes of this report, "Tchinouk" should be understood as referring to the current group which is petitioning for Federal acknowledgment, and the term "Chinook" as referring to the larger aboriginal culture which once flourished along the Columbia River (See the section entitled "An Explanation of Tchinouk" below).

The petitioning group has only been referred to as the Tchinouk Indians since organizing in 1974. Prior to 1957, most of the group members who were considered to be Indian identified themselves or were identified by others not as Chinooks but as members of the Umpqua, Molalla, Calapuya, or Klamath tribes or a combination of these four. This report describes the aboriginal origins of this group, the migration of their ancestors from the Columbia River Basin to southwestern and southern Oregon, and the degree to which they were able to maintain communal autonomy and identification as a distinct Indian group. It concludes that the Tchinouk Indians have not met the criteria in 25 CFR 83.7(a), (b) and (c) pertaining to identification as an Indian group, having a distinct community, and maintaining tribal relations throughout history.

The Tchinouk Indians reside in several communities, primarily in Douglas, Lane, and Klamath counties in western and southern Oregon. Group members in the adjacent western counties of Douglas and Lane, who constitute approximately 43 percent of the membership, are separated from those in Southern Oregon's Klamath County, who make up approximately 6 percent of the members, by the Cascade range of mountains and a distance of up to 175 miles. The largest concentration of members, approximately 21 percent, is in the Sutherlin area of Douglas County. Over half of the members are scattered outside of this three-county area in Oregon, and in nine states.

83.7(a) A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.

The Tchinouk Indians descend from undetermined bands of the aboriginal Chinook Indians who inhabited villages adjacent to the Columbia River in northern Oregon and southern Washington. An epidemic in the 1830s killed between 75 and 90 percent of this aboriginal population. Many observers have concluded that some if not all of the traditional political organizations of these villages ceased to function after this catastrophe.

The petitioning group generally traces its genealogy to two Chinook women who married French-Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company prior to 1830. These couples settled with other mixed-bloods in an agricultural settlement known as French Prairie in the Willamette Valley of northwestern Oregon. This community was viewed as distinct because it was French-Canadian and Roman Catholic and not because it had a large Indian population. During the fifty or more years that the descendants of these two Chinook women continued to reside in the French Prairie community, they were never identified as being part of an organized or distinct Indian group.

By the 1880s, many of the descendants had left the aboriginal Chinook territory and migrated from French Prairie to various small communities in Lane and Douglas counties,

up to 150 miles southwest of their French Prairie farms. Here they settled in the aboriginal area of the Umpqua and Molalla Indians and their Indian identification became confused as they began to associate with families of varying tribal backgrounds. Gradually they came to identify themselves and to be identified by others as being members of tribal groups other than Chinook. In 1939, the Office of Indian Affairs identified twenty or more "Umpqua" families living in four communities in Douglas County, including Sutherlin. Although some present Tchinouk group members or their ancestors were counted as being part of these family clusters, no evidence has been found to indicate that they were regarded by others as being part of an organized or distinct Indian community.

Although the Federal Government never acknowledged these Chinook descendants as being a distinct tribal entity, it did recognize a few of them as being of Indian descent. One descendant received an allotment on the public domain in Douglas County, and her descendants, some of whom were enrolled on the Grand Ronde Reservation, were consistently identified as being Chinook. However, most of this family line is not represented in the current Tchinouk membership.

After 1900, two other descendants married members of the Klamath Tribe and moved east across the Cascade Mountains to the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon. Some of their children were allotted lands on this reservation and many of their children and grandchildren were enrolled in the Klamath Tribe and thereafter identified as being Klamath Indians.

Many descendants, both from western Oregon and from the Klamath area, attended Indian boarding schools, received medical and other trust services from the Federal Government, and inherited interests in allotments. Yet only a very few were identified in Federal records as being Chinooks, and none were identified by the alternative spelling of Tchinouk. In the public records of Douglas County, descendants were most often identified as being white, whereas in Klamath County they were usually identified as being Indians, although never as Chinooks or Tchinouks. The vast majority of the petitioning group did not identify themselves as Chinook Indians, and none identified themselves as Tchinouks, until after the Bureau of Indian Affairs determined in 1957, in regard to the Western Oregon Judgment Fund award, that they were of Chinook ancestry. Subsequently they incorporated as the Tchinouk Indians in 1974.

The Tchinouk Indians have not been identified as an American Indian tribe from historical times until the present and therefore have not met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(a).

83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.

The church records of the Catholic Mission of the Willamette at present-day St. Paul, Oregon sufficiently verify that the Tchinouk Indians descend from the Chinook Indians who historically inhabited the Columbia River Basin. The Chinook descendants on French Prairie were integrated into a mixed-blood community in which at least fourteen other tribal groups were represented. Yet this community was viewed as distinct from other populations in the area due to the fact that it was French Canadian and Roman Catholic and not because it had a sizeable Indian population. When the Chinook descendants from French Prairie migrated to Lane and Douglas counties they left the aboriginal Chinook lands and settled in various scattered areas. At places such as

Sutherlin and Little River in Douglas County they became associated with families with a variety of tribal backgrounds, who were later most often identified as being Umpquas, and gradually lost their identity as Chinooks.

In 1939, the Office of Indian Affairs identified a group of twenty or more Umpqua families living in four communities in Douglas County, including Sutherlin. The petitioner did not furnish and no evidence was found in local records to indicate that these family clusters were at any time regarded by others as being a distinct Indian community.

The Chinook descendants on the Klamath Reservation were integrated into a larger Indian community which was readily viewed as being distinct. These people were generally regarded by the surrounding non-Indian population as being part of this Indian community. While those who were not actually enrolled were considered by Klamath tribal members to be outsiders, they never constituted a separate and distinguishable Tchinouk community. In both Douglas and Klamath counties these clusters of Chinook descendants existed as extended families rather than distinct ethnic communities.

At present, approximately 30 percent of the Tchinouk group members reside in Douglas County, 13 percent in Lane County, and 6 percent in Klamath County. The largest concentration of members continues to be in the Sutherlin area; approximately 21 percent of the total membership. The group's governing body is based in Klamath Falls, where there are only 5 percent of the members. Fifty-one (51) percent of the members are scattered outside Douglas, Lane, and Klamath counties in Oregon and in nine states.

As far back as their history can be accurately traced, the Tchinouk Indians have never constituted a separate community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations. Thus the group has not met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(b).

83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

No evidence has been found to indicate that the Tchinouk Indians have been organized at any time as an autonomous entity which maintained political influence over its members. Herbert C. Taylor and other scholars have concluded that some of the Chinook Indians ceased to exist as organized tribes after the devastating epidemic of the 1830s. Political influence over the mixed-blood community on French Prairie was informally maintained by a handful of the most prominent French-Canadian men. None of the Chinook descendants has been identified as being political leaders of the group, either on French Prairie, in southwestern Oregon, or on the Klamath Reservation.

In the 1920s, some descendants and family members became actively involved in the various Indian committees which were formed in western and southern Oregon to pursue claims against the United States. However, these claims organizations, which tended to cut across tribal lines, focused almost exclusively on litigation issues and did not exercise any political authority over the remnant bands they claimed to represent. The seasonal family gatherings which some descendants began having at about this same time also sometimes functioned as Indian claims meetings, but apparently served no political purpose. Descendants and family members subsequently formed or were a part of other claims organizations, such as the Sutherlin Group of Indians organized in 1947. This organization dissolved in 1957, at which time the petitioner maintains that the descendants living east of the Cascade Mountains were formally organized under the

leadership of certain members of the Parazoo family. However, no documentary evidence has been found to support this assertion.

The Tchinouk Indians drafted a constitution and elected a chairman in 1974. But it has not been demonstrated that this organization has functioned as an autonomous political entity.

The Tchinouk Indians have not maintained tribal political influence and authority over its members throughout history to the present and thus have not met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(c).

AN EXPLANATION OF "TCHINOUK"

"Tchinouk" is a variation of the French spelling of the term which the Salish-speaking Chehalis Indians used to describe their southern neighbors (of which the more common English spelling is "Chinook"). This spelling was employed by M. Duflot de Mofras in the second volume of his Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californes et al Mer Vermeille, published in Paris in 1844. It was also used by the French Canadian priests Abbe Francois N. Blanchet and Abbe Modeste Demers in the early parish records of their Catholic Mission of the Willamette at St. Paul, Oregon beginning in 1839.

When the members of the petitioning group applied as Umpqua, Molalla, and Calapuya Indians in 1955 to share in the Western Oregon Judgment Award of the Indian Claims Commission, the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs referred to these early Catholic church records in order to verify their genealogy. After being informed by the Bureau that they traced back to "Tchinouks" rather than Umpquas, Molallas, or Calapuyas, the petitioners eventually adopted this name as their group designation. There is no evidence that they either used or were aware of the term Tchinouk prior to that time. For the purposes of this report, Tchinouk will be used to refer to the current petitioning group and Chinook to the larger aboriginal culture.

THE CHINOOKAN BANDS

At the time of first white contact in the late 18th century, the Chinookan people, or those bands that spoke the Chinookan language, lived in villages adjacent to the mouths of streams along both sides of the Columbia River (which now forms the border between the states of Washington and Oregon) for a distance of approximately 220 miles to the head of the rapids known as The Dalles. They also lived up the Willamette River, a southern tributary of the Columbia, as far as its falls near present-day Oregon City, Oregon. Because of their strategic location, the Chinook Indians were able to dominate fully trade between inland tribes and those of the Pacific Coast. They were also blessed with a bountiful environment which enabled them to enjoy a remarkably productive society and to develop in turn a comparatively affluent, materialistic, and competitive way of life.

Culturally and linguistically the aboriginal Chinook people have been divided by ethnologists into two classifications: Lower Chinook and Upper Chinook. The Lower Chinook consisted of the Chinooks Proper, the Clatsops, the Wahkiakums, and the Kathlamets. Because these tribal groups were ethnically similar and equally adept at trading, they have often been referred to collectively as Chinook, or more specifically, Lower Chinook. The Lower Chinook or Coastal Chinook language contained two minor dialectic variations, that of the Chinooks Proper (so designated to distinguish them from the other Lower Chinooks) and Clatsop.

The Chinooks Proper were located in villages on the north side of the Columbia from Grays Point to Cape Disappointment, Washington north to the Willapa or Shoalwater Bay. The Clatsops were along the south bank of the Columbia from Tongue Point to Point Adam, Oregon and down the Pacific Coast to Tillamook Head. The Wahkiakums lived along the north bank of the Columbia from Oak Point to Grays Bay, Washington, and the Kathlamets were on the Oregon side of the river from a point opposite Skamokawa, Washington to Tongue Point.

The Upper Chinook bands lived upstream from Oak Point to The Dalles. The Upper Chinook language, which is sometimes called Kiksht, had numerous variations, including Kathlamet, the language of the Kathlamets and Wahkiakums, who were culturally and geographically Lower Chinooks. It also included the upriver dialects of the Clackamas, the Cascades, and the Wascos. The Chinookan linguistic family (Upper and Lower Chinook) was part of the Penutian phylum of native American languages.

As will be pointed out elsewhere in this report, the Tchinouk have been rather uncertain in identifying the precise band or bands from which they descend. A historical thesis written by William L. Wuerch in support of the group's petition contends that their ancestors were among the Upper Chinooks who have been alternatively designated "the Middle Chinooks" (Wuerch 1979:3). This designation was first used by the linguist Albert S. Gatschet in 1877 to distinguish these people from other Upper Chinookan speakers. The Middle Chinooks occupied the central area of Chinook territory; on both sides of the Columbia from present-day Vancouver, Washington to just below Oak Point, Oregon, and on the lower Willamette River as far as the Falls. Wuerch relates that two mutually intelligible dialects of the Upper Chinookan language were spoken within this area. However, he does not specify the tribes or bands that were considered as being part of the Middle Chinooks.

Among the various Chinookan bands which the Tchinouk have from time to time claimed ancestry, they have most consistently held that they descend from the Konnaack Band of Middle Chinooks. The Wuerch thesis implies that these people lived on Sauvies Island in the Columbia River near present-day Portland, Oregon and that they were led at one time by Casino, the most prominent Middle Chinook chieftain between 1811 and 1848. Wuerch further contends that this band deserted Sauvies Island following an epidemic in 1830 and thereafter resided at Oak Point, Oregon. In 1851, Anson Dart, the U.S. Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory, negotiated a treaty at Tansey Point with representatives of the Konnaack Band, who were then living at Oak Point. However, this treaty, by which the band agreed to cede between 400,000 and 500,000 acres of land to the United States for \$10,500, was never ratified by Congress (Wuerch 1979:143).

The historical record makes scant reference to the Konnaack Band prior to the signing of the Tansey Point Treaty, and only one reference was found regarding descendants of this band after 1851 (Skamock 1913). Beginning with Lewis and Clark in 1806, traders and explorers never specifically noted the Konnaacks as living on Sauvies Island, but rather consistently located them at Oak Point. Likewise, there is no extant evidence that Casino was ever a member of this band.

In 1811, Casino was living in a village on the lower Kalama River in Washington, a tributary of the Columbia whose mouth was downstream from Sauvies Island and upstream from Oak Point (Wuerch 1979:62). Because of the havoc which the epidemic of 1830 wreaked on Chinook society, it is difficult if not impossible to determine precisely the name of Casino's band. For a time in the late 1830s, he lived at Cathlapotle, Washington, a village on the Columbia just upstream from the mouth of the Lewis River. The

archives of the Hudson's Bay Company contains a roster which lists him among the "Cathlacanasese" (Hajda 1984). By 1840, he was living near Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia opposite the mouth of the Willamette River, and was considered to be the chief of the "Wakanasisi", a tribe which included the remnants of several neighboring bands. There are also several historical references to his being the chief of the "Multnomahs", the name which was generally used after 1835 to describe all of the Chinook bands who had lived on or near Sauvie Island (Spencer 1933:22). Prior to his death at Fort Vancouver in 1848, Casino was considered to be the principal Chinook chief on the Columbia River and it is probable that he held considerable authority over the Konnaacks at Oak Point. Yet there is no evidence which indicates that he was a member of this band or ever lived among these people.

Ethnologists believe that the Konnaacks were originally part of the Middle Chinook tribelet which the American explorers Lewis and Clark referred to as "Skilloots" in 1806. In 1811 these same people were called "Kreluits" by the Canadian trader Gabriel Francheire, and the "Whill-Wetz" by his competitor, David Thompson. Whatever the designation, these people were described as living on both sides of the Columbia River above and below the Cowlitz River, a northern tributary. They were also observed to be distinct from the Multnomahs who then resided on or near Sauvie Island (Spier 1936:22).

The Konnaacks were closely related to the Seamysty band that lived at the mouth of the Cowlitz River. In 1841, a Dr. Gairdner of the Royal Geographical Society, writing in his Notes on the Geography of the Columbia River, listed the Seamysty and the "Ketlakaniak" (Konnaack) at Oak Point. He further stated that these two bands were formerly one nation under the name of "Kolnit" (Gairdner 1841:255). The ethnologist Livingston Farrand, writing in the Handbook of American Indians (Hodge 1971:341), determined that Kolnit was the equivalent of Skilloot, and that "Cooniak" (Konnaack) had been the village at Oak Point in which the only remnant of the Skilloot which survived the 1830 epidemic had resided. Earlier, Franz Boas had recorded in his field notes that "Qa-niak" (Konnaack) was the Chinookan name for the village at Oak Point (Spier 1936:22).

The Konnaack band was also closely associated with the Klatskania or Klatskanie band that lived near Oak Point, and the Tchinouks have also claimed, in their constitution, to descend from "the Kooniac and Klatskania bands" of the "Tchinouk Tribe of Indians" (Lower Band of Tchinouk 1974). In 1851, Anson Dart concluded a treaty with the Klatskanies at Tansey Point in which he specifically referred to them as "the Klatskania Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians" (Klatskania Treaty of August 8, 1851). However, the Klatskanies were an Athabascan rather than a Chinookan band. The fact that the Tchinouks have repeated Dart's error may indicate that they have merely attempted to link up to the Tansey Point treaty bands which no other descendants have claimed rather than try accurately to trace their actual Chinookan heritage. This is corroborated by the fact that no genealogical ties have been found to link the Tchinouks to either the Konnaack or Klatskania bands.

As far as their genealogy can be traced, the Tchinouks descend from two Indian women who were married by custom to French-Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company sometime prior to 1830. One of these women, who is referred to in the Catholic church records as Lizette Tchinouk (it being common to use the name of one's tribe as a surname), married Joseph Despard. The other, who is not known to us by name and is recorded only as "a Tchinouk woman," was the wife of Jean Baptiste Perrault (Warner and Munnick 1972). In 1927, Sarah Hunt Steeves, a local historian of Marion County, Oregon, drew the conclusion, based on interviews with pioneer settlers, that Perrault's

unnamed spouse was a daughter of Comcomley, who prior to his death in 1830 was the principal chief of the Lower Chinooks or Chinooks Proper (Steeves 1927). If this is true, then the Tchinouks have a much better claim to being Lower Chinooks than they do to being Middle Chinooks.

THE ABORIGINAL CULTURE

The Chinook culture, which flourished along the Columbia River for over two centuries prior to white contact, was part of a rich and unique Northwest culture complex that extended north to Alaska. So successful were the Chinooks in their role as economic middlemen that their language became the basis for "Chinook jargon," the lingua franca of trade relations throughout this vast region. Salish, Nootkan, Russian, French, Japanese, and English terms were added to a simplified Chinookan dialect to form this rather easily learned pidgin. The Chinook people also lent their name to an abundant variety of Columbia River salmon, a warm Pacific wind, and various placenames in the Northwest.

The aboriginal Chinook trade system was based on a small seashell, the dentalium, as the primary medium of exchange. This was later augmented by beaver skins, a medium introduced by Euro-American traders. The principal trade goods were dried fish (particularly salmon), seal and sea lion meat, sea otter skins, a protective armor known as clamons, wooden canoes, and slaves. These goods were traded for wapato and camus roots, elk and deer meat and skins from upriver tribes, dried shellfish and other meats from coastal tribes, and later for blankets, beads, copper, iron, weapons, alcohol, and the other customary Euro-American trade goods. Chinook traders could readily supply large quantities of whatever trade goods were in demand, and thus managed to take good care of themselves commercially. They delighted in bartering and usually succeeded in setting their own prices. Women held an equal status with men in this trade, and were often preferred as traders by many Euro-Americans, who did not fully trust the men. This situation served to enhance the trade positions of Chinook women and increased their knowledge of Euro-American language and culture (Ruby and Brown 1976:63-65).

The village was the primary social unit of Chinook society as no clan organization existed. Each village was also politically autonomous, although commonly linked to others by alliances. These links were often symbolized by inter-village marriages between families. Some powerful leaders such as Casino and Comcomley were able to extend their influence over several neighboring villages, but for the most part each settlement was independent.

Leadership roles were usually held by upper-class males, but their authority was not absolute. Chiefs were assisted by an informal council of similarly aristocratic individuals of both sexes, who had the authority to replace them. This council included an orator who spoke for the villages at ceremonial feasts. The chief could also appoint a war leader to serve at his discretion.

Under the polygamous system practiced by the Chinooks, the chieftainship was usually handed down to the eldest son of the former leader's highest ranking wife, or perhaps to a nephew. If no man was considered appropriate, however, a daughter or widow could become chief. The power of the chieftain was based on high social status, acquired wealth, and the support of personal retainers. As aristocrats they were accorded special privileges, including the first fruits of the villager's industry.

Chinook social structure was divided into four broad classes based on gradations of wealth and the accidents of birth. Chieftains and their families and the prominent war

leaders, shamans, and merchants constituted the elite class. Below them was a less affluent middle class, a lower class of free individuals, and slaves. As might be expected in such a materialistic society, social mobility could be readily achieved by all except slaves through the acquisition of wealth or skill in gambling. Yet class lines were distinctively drawn. The children of the upper class, for example, did not mix with commoners, even at play.

The ownership of slaves was considered a status symbol, and the Chinook possessed more slaves than most Northwest Coast tribes. These slaves were acquired through purchase, warfare, or as payment for debts. Freeborn tribal members were distinguished from slaves by their high, sloping foreheads which were flattened in infancy by the use of a board or plank that was fastened to the forehead and tied down across a cradleboard during the first year of life.

Polygamy was practiced by all classes in Chinook culture and marriage was usually to someone outside the local village. Women held property separately, but were themselves regarded as the property of their father or nearest male relative. Husbands therefore were required to purchase their wives, after which they could trade them, gamble them away, or even kill them at their discretion.

Outside of trading, the principal labor of Chinook men was the procurement and preparation of food, while women were primarily responsible for weaving and the collection of raw materials. The drudgery of many mundane household tasks was left to slaves. Tobacco was the only crop which the people cultivated.

Chinook villages varied greatly in size, some having only a few houses. In winter, the people lived in cedar plank houses built in excavated, rectangular pits, half sunk in the earth for insulation. These houses were quite large, commonly holding three to four related families. In summer, the villagers moved about a great deal according to the vagaries of the food supply, and lived in shed-roofed summer houses. The falls of the Columbia and Willamette rivers were the primary gathering points during the salmon season. The chief method of travel was in long-prowed canoes which could hold twenty or more people.

Although the seasonal village feasts were sometimes called potlatches in Chinook jargon, they were far less ritualistic and competitive than the classic potlatches observed by Boas and others among the tribes of British Columbia (Kehoe 1981:419). In the summer both friendly and rival villages might be invited to the host community for several days of dancing, singing, feasting, and gift-giving. But winter feasts were usually given for individual guests rather than entire groups, and were often held to aid a shaman in effecting a cure.

Chinook religion was based on an animistic ideology which involved numerous spirit powers that awaited human supplication. The guardian spirit dances represented the most visible expression of this religion. The men and women who became its practitioners went through a long apprenticeship which was climaxed by a public exhibition of their spiritual power. These shamans often competed with each other in effecting cures.

In sum, Chinook culture was greatly influenced by the aquatic and vegetal wealth available in the Columbia River Basin. These people were able to enjoy the comparatively affluent life of tradesmen because their environment yielded many more material riches than they themselves could consume.

EARLY HISTORY TO 1830

Prior to the late 18th Century, the only non-Indians to come in contact with Chinooks were shipwrecked sailors from Japan or Spain, all of whom were either killed or enslaved. After washing ashore in 1725, one Spaniard lived for awhile with the Middle Chinooks, and it is possible that there were other Spanish visitors prior to that time (Barry 1932:25). The Chinooks began receiving European trade goods and hearing stories of white newcomers as early as 1700. Sustained contact was also preceded by the importation of white diseases, including a smallpox epidemic in 1782 and 1783 which significantly reduced the Chinook population. By the dawn of the 19th Century, four nations - Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States - had laid claim to both Chinook territory and the greater Northwest Coast region.

In 1788, the English navigator Captain James Cook visited the Oregon coast, procured sea otter furs from the Indians, and traded them profitably in China. The publicity he gave this discovery sent a swarm of British merchants into the Pacific during the next two decades. It also stimulated two American sea captains, Robert Gray and Benjamin Kendrick to spend the winter of 1788-89 trading for sea otter skins off the Oregon Coast. Journeying on to Canton, Captain Gray then traded his furs for teakwood and other luxury items which he was able to sell for a handsome profit upon his return to New England, having completed the first circumnavigation of the globe by an American. His success in establishing this "triangular trade" soon sparked an international rivalry to gain control of the Northwest Coast.

The first written observations of the Middle Chinooks were made by two British sailors, Edmund Bell and William R. Broughton, who were part of Captain George Vancouver's exploration party of 1792. Sailing up the Columbia as far as Sauvie Island in October of that year, they traded a variety of trinkets with Chinook villagers in return for an abundance of salmon. Their ship's master, Thomas Manby, wrote that the exploring crew regretted returning to the ship as "the Indians were well inclined toward friendship" (Wuerch 1979:41).

Captain John Meares, who sailed under both the British and Portuguese flags, was perhaps the first white trader to deal directly with the Chinooks. In the summer of 1788 he entered Willapa Bay, which he renamed Shoalwater Bay, and traded for sea otter skins with two tribal members (Ruby and Brown 1976:38). However, the first sustained contact with the Lower Chinooks was established by the American Captain Robert Gray, who on his second voyage to Oregon in May of 1792 became the first non-Indian to enter the Columbia River, which he named after his ship, Columbia Rediviva. Sailing upstream as far as present-day Harrington Point, Washington, the easterly entrance to Grays Bay, Captain Gray encountered a number of Chinook villagers who were only too happy to exchange their otter and beaver skins, roots and salmon, for his copper, cloth, and nails. He eventually collected some 22,000 skins which he sold in China for \$90,000, using his profit to purchase a diverse cargo of Oriental goods (Ruby and Brown 1976:50-51).

By 1801, there were fifteen American ships trading on the Northwest Coast, and New Englanders so completely dominated the trade that all white men were called "Bostons" by the Indians. The Chinooks welcomed the traders, both for the new goods they introduced and the new outlets they provided for established trade goods, reaching as far north as Alaska.

The first American land exploration of Oregon was carried out by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who were dispatched by President Thomas Jefferson to map and

explore the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The Lewis and Clark Expedition arrived in Lower Chinook country in November, 1805, and soon attracted a number of curious tribal members, including Chief Comcomley, to whom the Americans gave both a medal and a flag. For their part, the explorers were quick to note the mercenary tendencies and flattened heads of the natives (Ruby and Brown 1976:97).

The expedition constructed its winter quarters in Clatsop territory on what is now the Lewis and Clark River in Oregon, some three miles upstream from the Columbia. Before starting their long trek home in March of 1806, the party recorded their detailed ethnographic observations regarding the demography and customs of the natives. In these journals the Middle Chinooks were described as being "the principal carriers and intermediate traders between the whites and the Indians of the sea coast" (Thwaites 1905:341-42). One of the Columbia River villages, which Lewis and Clark called "Skilloots", contained fifty houses and a population of 2500. It was noted that the Skilloots possessed more white trade goods than did any of the other river tribes. Boas later concluded that the Skilloots spoke the Kathlamet dialect of Upper Chinook, while Farrand and others determined that the Konnaacks represented the last remnant of the Skilloots (Spier 1936:22).

Once Lewis and Clark had demonstrated the feasibility of an overland crossing to Oregon, land-based British and American fur traders began in earnest their struggle to occupy Chinook territory. In 1811, John Jacob Astor, America's foremost fur merchant, established Fort Astoria, a trading post for his Pacific Fur Company, near the mouth of the Columbia at Point George (Oregon). Chief Comcomley readily established amicable trade relations with the "Astorians," which served to enhance his claim to being the principal chief of the Lower Chinooks. His status and trading position was symbolically cemented by the marriage of his daughter Ilchee to Duncan McDougall, the headman of Fort Astoria. A number of other Astorians also took Chinook wives.

Comcomley openly encouraged his daughters, former wives, subjects, and slaves to marry white traders in order that he might cement political and commercial ties. He also exacted a profit from these marriages, as the Astorians and others were compelled to purchase their wives at fairly expensive prices. McDougall, for example, reportedly worked for a year to pay for his bride (Ruby and Brown 1976:113-14).

Astorian trappers and traders also crossed Middle Chinook territory as they made their way to and from inland fur districts. In May of 1811, Gabriel Franchere, Alexander McKay, and four others held a council with Casino at his village on the lower Kalama River. They also described the "Kreluits" as living on both sides of the Columbia in the same area as Lewis and Clark's Skilloots (Franchere 1969:78). Later that same year, a party under David Thompson of the British-owned and Canadian-based North West Company, passed through this same country and met with Casino at Sauvies Island. On July 23, they passed by what they described as the "great Whill Wetz village" of twenty houses at Oak Point (Wuerch 1979:63).

With the coming of the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States, Astor's Pacific Fur Company was compelled to sell Fort Astoria (which subsequently became Fort George) to the North West Company in order to avoid its capture by the British navy. This allowed the Canadian trappers to roam freely over Oregon and to dominate the interior as thoroughly as the Americans controlled the coast.

Both the Lower and Middle Chinooks strove to establish good trade relations with the North West Company. Casino aided the Canadians by leading a punitive expedition up the Columbia against a native band that had been hostile to the whites, and also helped

them to establish an outpost at the mouth of the Willamette River. By the end of 1814, he and the other Middle Chinooks had managed to divert much of the Lower Chinook trade to their own hands and to challenge the wealth and prestige of Comcomley and his people. It was reported that Oak Point villagers in particular profited handsomely from trade relations with the North West Company (Wuerch 1979:77)

In 1818, Britain and the United States signed a Treaty of Joint Occupation by which it was agreed that the citizens of both nations could freely enter the Oregon territory (which then included Washington, Idaho, and part of British Columbia). By virtue of the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, Spain gave up her claim to Oregon in favor of the United States, and in 1824 Russia likewise abandoned any claim to this region. For the next twenty years the only disputed claims in the area were those of Britain and the United States to the territory between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel.

In 1821, England's powerful Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the rival North West Company and established new fur posts throughout the Columbia River Basin. Three years later, the company moved its major trading post from Fort George (Astoria) to Fort Vancouver, and placed it under the command of Dr. John McLoughlin. This new post was on the north bank of the Columbia opposite the mouth of the Willamette, and just six miles upstream from Casino's village. As a result of this move, Casino and the Middle Chinooks were able to completely eclipse Comcomley and the Lower Chinooks as the principal Indian traders on the lower Columbia.

Comcomley continued nevertheless to try to exert his influence through strategic marriage alliances with Lower Chinook women. At least two of his daughters were married to Hudson's Bay men: Kah-at-lau to Louis Rondeau in 1825 and Timee to Dr. John McLoughlin (Santee 1932:275). The Middle Chinooks also encouraged these kind of relationships, and by 1827 a number of their women were reportedly clustered around Fort Vancouver (Ruby and Brown 1976:172). Several interim marriages resulted from this situation. Although company rules did not require Hudson's Bay employees to make permanent marriages with Indian women, they did demand that the men accept responsibility for the care and support of the children of these unions.

In the 1820's, white traders brought new disease and introduced the Chinooks to alcohol and guns on a large scale. The inter-tribal trading of slaves continued despite the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to suppress it, and white observers continued to be favorably impressed by the prosperous and populous Chinook villages.

All of this changed in the summer of 1830 when the Chinooks were struck by a devastating epidemic of what became known as "The Cold Sick" or "Intermittent Fever." It has been estimated that between 75 and 90 percent of the Lower and Middle Chinook people succumbed to this disease, which struck most violently around Fort Vancouver, on the lower Cowlitz River, and in the Willamette Valley. Although the sickness has most often been described as malaria, some medical researchers now believe that it may have been a strain of influenza (Ruby and Brown 1981:59). Whatever the disease, it is certain that it was one for which the Indians had no immunity. Comcomley was an early victim of the epidemic, and Casino reportedly lost nine wives, three children, and sixteen slaves to the disease. Casino blamed the death of his son on one of his wives, who happened also to be Ilchee, the daughter of Comcomley who had been previously married to the Astorian Duncan McDougall. After Casino threatened to kill her, Ilchee took refuge with her Lower Chinook relatives (Ruby and Brown 1976:196).

The fact that Casino was married to one of Comcomley's daughters indicates that there was at least some intermarriage between the Middle and Lower Chinooks. Yet this

information does not shed any further light on the aboriginal origins of the Tchinouks; i.e., whether or nor they descended from the Lower or Middle Chinooks or both.

The epidemic of 1830 reduced the total population of the Middle and Lower Chinooks to just a few hundred who gathered together in small, fragmented bands throughout the territory. The Middle Chinook survivors moved downstream from Fort Vancouver, where the effects of the disease were less severe. By 1835 these remaining bands were consolidated into five principal villages and Sauvies Island was completely abandoned. By 1850, only two villages remained; one at Oak Point and the other at the mouth of the Cowlitz River. With the influx of white settlers, the Middle Chinooks lost their position as economic middlemen and were forced for the first time to deal with Euro-Americans who were more interested in their land than their trade. When Casino died at Fort Vancouver in 1848, these people also lost their last viable leader.

The Wuerch thesis maintains that the epidemic virtually destroyed the Middle Chinooks as a political and economic force on the Columbia (Wuerch 1979:90-91). The anthropologist Herbert C. Taylor, testifying on behalf of Chinook descendents before the Indian Claims Commission in 1953 (Docket No. 234), also stated that the Lower Chinooks (i.e., Chinooks Proper, Clatsop, and Kathlamet) ceased to exist as politically organized tribes after 1830 and consisted merely of a few "hangers-on," who congregated at trading posts and other strategic gathering places (Indian Claims Commission 1958:297).

FRENCH PRAIRIE

At about the same time that the Chinook villages along the Columbia were being ravaged by an epidemic in 1830, a number of French Canadians who had previously been employed as engages by the Hudson's Bay Company decided to retire with their Indian wives and families and pursue farming in the Willamette Valley of northwestern Oregon. Their region of settlement, which became known as "French Prairie," an area approximately twenty miles long and ten miles wide, was bounded by the Willamette River on the north and west, the Pudding River on the east, and Lake Labiche on the south.

Under the Hudson's Bay Company charter, retiring personnel were required to return to the country where they were first hired, usually Canada or the British Isles, so that the company could continue to maintain control over all of the white men within its jurisdiction. But many of the former Astorians had enlisted in Oregon, married Indian women and reared families. When they decided to retire, they asked to be able to remain in Oregon and start farms. The company could not easily deny these requests because it feared that the half-breed children of these men would be severed from the influence of the company and reared as tribal members (Bowen 1978:9).

Recognizing the potential for suffering and discontent in this situation, John McLoughlin, the company's Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, decided to subvert the regulations and turn the problem to the company's advantage. He agreed to carry the retirees on the list of employees while subsidizing their initial farming efforts, if they would agree to settle in the Willamette Valley. He chose this area not only because of its fertility, but also because of his desire to isolate the half-breed children from tribal influence and rear them as whites who would be loyal to the company. He also figured that the children and their mothers would serve as hostages for the good conduct of their Indian relatives (Bowen 1978:9).

Joseph Gervais, with his Clatsop wife and two Chinook children by a previous marriage, was the first of the Hudson's Bay men to settle on French Prairie (West 1942:201-202).

By 1835 there were approximately twenty mixed-blood families living there, including the oldest known ancestors of the Tchinouks.

Jean Baptiste Perrault, a native of the Montreal district of Canada who had worked as a boatman for the company, settled on the west side of the Willamette River near present-day Newburg, Oregon in 1832. He brought with him his Chinook wife of twelve years, the possible daughter of Comcomley whose name is unknown to us, and his two half-blood daughters, Reinette (b.1820) and Marie Ann (b.1823). The next year, Joseph Frederick Despard, another Montrealer, settled three miles north of present-day St. Paul, Oregon, with Lizette, his Chinook wife of six years, and their son Joseph. Over the next ten years, five daughters were born to the Despards on French Prairie: Marie Ann (b.1834), Rose (b.1836), Marguerite (b.1838), Marie (b.1840) and Victoria (b.1843) (Munnick and Warner 1979).

The recorded genealogy of the Tchinouks begins with these two families, the Perraults and the Despards. These descendants later intermarried with Pellands, Parazoos, and Plueards. Nothing is recorded about the earlier history of these marriages, and the details of their family life on French Prairie are only known to us through the Catholic church records. In 1838, the Bishop of Juliopolis in Canada dispatched Abbe Francois Blanchet and Abbe Modeste Demers to establish a "Catholic Mission of the Willamette" to serve the growing number of mixed-blood families. The next year a chapel and cemetery were established at St. Paul, Oregon. Much of the early work of these priests was taken up with the task of solemnizing the common law marriages and legitimizing the offspring of these unions. On January 21, 1839, for example, Lizette Tchinouk was first baptized and then united in marriage to Joseph Despard, in one of eleven such nuptials performed that day. This ceremony legitimized their four children. On the same day, Jean Baptiste Perrault was married to a Chehalis woman named Angele, his unnamed Chinook wife having died sometime between 1837 and 1839 (Munnick and Warner 1979).

By 1841 there were sixty-one families living on French Prairie and the region had become Oregon's primary grain production center. The church records indicated that there were at least eighteen other Chinook wives in the area: fourteen who were married to Canadians, two to Iroquois men, and two to members of their own tribe.

A number of other Chinook people were baptized and/or given the last rites by the priests. But no indication was ever given of the inter-relationships between these Chinook descendants. The Catholic church records also reveal that households such as the Despards and Perraults had other Chinooks residing at their farms on occasion, but it is not known if any of these individuals were related by blood. For example, a Chinook man named Frederick, who reportedly lived in a hut on the Despard farm, died at the Perrault house in 1843, and a young Indian woman was baptized there in danger of death in 1845. A young Chinook man died at the Despard house in 1845, and Joseph Despard was listed as the godfather of several Indian children. In addition to the Chinooks, the church records indicate that members of at least fourteen other tribal groups were integrated into the French Prairie community (Munnick and Warner 1979).

The only potential link that has been found between the French Prairie settlement and the Konnaack Band is through Elermach or Marie Ann, the Chinook wife of Alex Aubichon. A descendent later recalled that this woman's father was Os-wal-licks, and a man by this name was one of the Konnaack representatives who signed the Tansey Point Treaty in 1851 (Munnick & Warner 1979:A-14).

In the 1830s American publicists such as Hall J. Kelley began agitating for the settlement of Oregon, and American fur trappers such as Ewing Young and Captain Benjamin Bonneville stepped up their activities in the area. In 1834, the Reverend Jason Lee of New York established a Methodist mission in the lower Willamette Valley to work with the Indians, and in 1842 the great westward migration of American emigrants began over the long Oregon Trail. With the coming of these settlers, French Prairie became a closed ethnic community, which remained culturally and religiously distinct from the American Protestants who settled all around it. United by nationality, language, religion, and blood, the French-Canadians and their mixed-blood families kept themselves segregated from the mainstream of frontier society and politics (Bowen 1978:11,43). In 1844, for example, they voted against the establishment of a provisional government for the Oregon territory. Yet, it is clear that the community identified itself and was identified by others as being French-Canadian. No evidence has been found to indicate that there was also an organized Indian subcommunity.

The children of the Perrault and Despard families were reared as Roman Catholics and were never listed as being Indian in the church records. It is not known how much they learned about the Chinook language and culture, but it is certain that they did not subscribe to many of the traditional tribal customs, including the practice of head flattening. Most of the children grew up to marry other French-Canadian Catholics. Of Despard's daughters, Marie Ann married Joseph Rivet, Marguerite married Leon Morel, Victoria married Roc Pichette, and Marie married Francois Bernier. Only Perrault's daughter Reinette married an American, the Pennsylvania-born John Larrison, while her sister Marie Ann married Jean Baptiste Deguire (Munnick and Warner 1979).

The United States and Great Britain finally reached a compromise regarding the occupation of Oregon in 1846, and divided the territory between them by extending a boundary along the 49th parallel from the Continental Divide westward to the Pacific Ocean. Consequently, a territorial government was organized in 1848, and Oregon became a state eleven years later.

The creation of the Oregon Territory by the United States voided the previous land claims of the Canadian-Indian families on French Prairie. But in 1850, Congress, prior to extinguishing Indian title to the region, passed legislation which allowed individual Americans, half-breed Indians, and aliens who had previously declared their intention to become citizens to claim up to 640 acres of land on the public domain in Oregon. Under this Donation Land Act, the Perrault and Despard families were able to keep their farms on French Prairie, in what became Marion County, and their married children to establish new ones (Oregon State Archives 1845-1949).

Congress also provided in 1850 for a separate Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory and a treaty commission. These officials were charged with purchasing all of the Indian land in western Oregon and removing the indigenous tribal groups to the east side of the Cascade Mountains. Anson Dart was appointed Superintendent in 1851, and he negotiated thirteen separate treaties that year with Indian bands in the Willamette Valley and along the Columbia River and Pacific Coast.

During the first week in August, 1851, Dart negotiated treaties with representatives of various Chinook, Clatsop, and Athabascan bands at Tansey Point, on the Columbia some eight miles downstream from Astoria. On August 8th, the six headmen of the Konnaack Band agreed to cede all of their land (approximately 450,000 acres) except for a small area around their village at Oak Point in return for a \$1,050 annuity for ten years (Wuerch, 1979:143). The next day, the twenty headmen of the Chinooks Proper (whom Dart referred to as the Lower Band of Chinooks) ceded an even larger area north of

the Columbia River in return for a \$2,000 annuity for ten years. All of the bands insisted on retaining a small part of their aboriginal territory rather than moving to the arid environs of Eastern Oregon, where they would be surrounded by tribes that were militarily superior to them.

By the time these first treaties were negotiated with the United States, the situation of the Chinooks had deteriorated. Dart reported that the Chinook people were "fully aware of the rapidity with which, as a people, they are wasting away" (Ruby and Brown 1976:217). The ten year annuity period had reportedly been chosen because the Chinook headmen had expressed the view that they would "all be dead before even that time expires" (Wuerch 1979:126).

Congress refused to ratify the Tansey Point treaties, primarily because political leaders still wanted the complete removal of the Indians to the east side of the Cascades. Unable therefore to oblige either the Indian demand for treaty goods or the white demand for tribal land, Dart resigned his position in 1852.

Failure to resolve the issue of aboriginal land title led to a widespread outbreak of hostilities between Indians and whites in the Rogue and Umpqua valleys of southwestern Oregon, in eastern Oregon, and in the Puget Sound area of Washington Territory, which was detached from the Oregon Territory in 1853. Although the Chinooks were not involved in this warfare, they were affected by the government's response. Joel Palmer, Dart's replacement as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, decided to create a dozen small reservations where the various bands could be isolated from the pressure of white settlement. Consequently, most of the Middle Chinooks, including the members of the Konnaack Band, were rounded up by military authorities in 1856 and removed to a reservation in the Grand Ronde Valley of western Oregon (Wuerch 1979:134-38). Situated amidst the Coast Range Mountains in the westward reaches of Polk and Yamhill Counties, the Grand Ronde Reservation was officially established by an executive order of President Buchanan on June 30, 1857. Although Superintendent Parker had intended to negotiate a land-ceding treaty with the Middle Chinooks either before or after their removal, he never managed to do so.

The Lower Chinooks were spared from forced removal but were eventually scattered to several reservations. Remnants of the Clatsops and other bands along the Columbia's south bank ended up at Grand Ronde and on the Coast Range Indian Reservation, which was established in northwestern Oregon by an executive order of November 9, 1855. In 1865, this reserve was divided into the Siletz and Alsea Indian reservations, which were separated by a forty-mile strip of land that was restored to the public domain. Some of the Chinooks Proper on the north bank of the Columbia were eventually allotted land on the Quinault Reservation in Washington, which had been established north of Grays Harbor for the Quinault Indian Tribe on July 1, 1855. By an executive order of September 22, 1866, the 355 acre Shoalwater Reservation was created on the north shore of Willapa Bay for the Chinook and Chehalis families who lived nearby. A small number of Chinooks also found their way to the Malheur and Warm Springs Indian Reservations in Oregon and the Yakima Reservation in Washington (Ruby and Brown 1976:239-242; Zucker et al. 1983:82). Some of the Middle Chinooks managed to evade the authorities and avoid removal, and many of the Lower Chinooks were permitted to remain in their native villages, perhaps because they were too few to pose any threat to settlement. Likewise, those who resided in mixed-blood communities, such as French Prairie, were not affected by the government's Indian policies.

The Tchinouk petition maintains that some of the group's ancestors were removed to the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations in the 1850s. But no evidence has been found

that any of the known Tchinouk ancestors resided on these reserves prior to 1887. Nearly all of the Indian ancestors of the Tchinouks were residing on French Prairie in 1855, where they remained for nearly another quarter century before gradually migrating to Southwestern Oregon.

MIGRATION TO SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

At the time that the Tansey Point treaties were being negotiated in 1851, there were approximately 1200 French-Canadians, Indians, and mixed-bloods living on French Prairie (Clark 1927:231). With the rise of the second generation of settlers, the community ceased to be distinct or important and was rapidly assimilated into the American melting pot. Historical observers noted an increase in "shiftlessness and dissipation" which was greatly accelerated by the hysteria of the gold rush era (Clark 1927:236). After French Prairie youth went to the California gold fields beginning in 1849, business came to a halt and the population declined. By the time that Oregon became a state in 1859, the homogenous group of French-Canadians had been absorbed or dispersed to other regions by the wave of American immigrants.

The patriarch of the most prevalent Tchinouk family was Pierre Pariseau, whose surname was Anglicized as "Parazoo." Pariseau came to Oregon from Canada in 1839 and worked for the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Umpqua in what is now Douglas County between 1841 and 1849. He married Marie Dompier, a quarter-blood Cree woman, and then departed for the gold fields. In 1850 he returned to file a Donation Land Claim on a 640 acre tract on French Prairie, just north of the present town of Gervais, Oregon (Munnick 1976; Schlessler 1973:32,38).

Pariseau and his wife moved to the Little River area of what is now Douglas County, approximately 150 miles southwest of French Prairie, sometime after 1880 (Bureau of the Census 1880). A son and a daughter were baptized at St. Paul in 1859 and 1863 respectively. A son Charles was born at Coburg in Lane County (between French Prairie and Douglas County) in 1868, and Pierre and his wife were listed in the church records as residing in Lane County in 1876 (Munnick and Warner 1979).

In 1872, Louis, the son of Pierre Pariseau, was married at St. Paul to Reinette (a.k.a. Ellen and Reire) Larrison, the granddaughter of Jean Baptiste Perrault and his Chinook wife. By 1879 this couple was also living in Lane County, and in 1889 they moved to Douglas County (Munnick and Warner 1979).

In 1877, Victoria Pichette, the daughter of Joseph Despard and his Chinook wife, moved with her husband Roc, who was a mixed-blood Cree Indian, and their children from French Prairie to the Dodge Canyon area of Douglas County (Douglas County Museum n.d.). Sometime prior to 1879, Victoria's sister, Marie Ann, was also residing with her husband and children in the Coles Valley area of Douglas County, which became known as "French Settlement," because of the large number of French-Canadian descendants who had moved there (Pelland 1973; University of Oregon Library n.d.).

By 1900, most of the Tchinouk ancestors were residing in Douglas and Lane counties, where they maintained few if any ties to the old French Prairie area of Marion County. In the meantime, those Chinooks who were removed to the Grand Ronde Reservation were merged with the remnants of at least a dozen other bands. Some people of Chinook descent were adopted into the Umpqua Tribe, and others were identified as being Umpqua or Molalla by the Indian agents at Grand Ronde, who were often confused by the numerous tribal affiliations (Munnick 1974). The Tchinouk ancestors who had moved to Douglas County also came to be identified or identified themselves as Umpqua

or Molalla, perhaps because they had settled in the aboriginal territory of these tribal groups.

According to an interview with Albert Pelland, one of the oldest Tchinouk members, Roc and Victoria Pichette sold their homestead in Dodge Canyon in the 1880s and moved to the Grand Ronde Reservation. But they decided not to stay after they were refused rations from the Agency (Pelland 1973). Roc, Victoria, and their children were listed on the Grand Ronde Indian Census in 1887 and 1888. On the latter roll their tribal affiliation was listed as "Cow Creek," a local band of the Umpqua tribe of Indians (Grand Ronde Agency 1885-1914).

In the summer of 1892, Victoria Pichette applied for an Indian allotment on the public domain under the provisions of Section IV of the General Allotment Act of 1887. On her application for this, so-called "Fourth Section" allotment she stated that she was "a halfblood Indian of the Chinook tribe" (Fritz 1959). Her application was eventually approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and on October 22, 1895, the United States issued her a trust patent for a 160 acre tract of land in the Little Canyon area of Douglas County (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1895a).

Fourth Section allotments were granted on the public domain to approximately 170 other Indians in Western Oregon, and this was thought to represent about one-fourth of the total non-reservation population. But, curiously, Victoria Pichette was the only Tchinouk ancestor who received a Public Domain allotment. It is not known whether or not any of the others made application.

Through marriage, members of the Pelland family inherited interests in the Caroline Voinson allotment (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1895b) and a courtesy right or life estate in the allotment of Roselle Plouf (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1895c). Both of these allotments were also located in Douglas County, but neither of these women were of Chinook descent: Voinson having been allotted as a Shasta and Plouf as a Spokane (Douglas County Clerk 1895-1956, Deed Book 41:81). Another Douglas County allottee, Nellie Palouse, who was allotted as a Klamath/Molalla, was the wife of Charles Parazoo, a son of Pierre Pariseau (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1909; Douglas County Deed Clerk 1895-1956, Deed Book 61: 187). Although he was an ancestor of the petitioning group, Charles did not have any Chinook blood.

Victoria Pichette died in 1906 and her trust estate was relinquished by her heirs in 1914 (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1895a; Douglas County Clerk 1895-1956, Deed Book 63:466). Nellie Palouse sold her allotment in 1910 (Wilson 1910) and the heirs of Roselle Plouf Pelland were issued a patent in fee simple for her allotment in 1926 (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1926). Only the Caroline Voinson allotment continued to remain in trust into the modern period. Several members of the Pelland family continued to hold an interest in this allotment until 1956, at which time it was sold out of trust (Douglas County Clerk 1895-1956, Deed Book 251:479).

Roc and Victoria Pichette had at least ten children. Their son, John B. Pichette attended the Salem Indian School in Salem, Oregon (Smith 1976) and was married in 1904 to Dolly Leno, an Umpqua tribal member from the Grand Ronde Reservation. This couple settled in southern Tillamook County, Oregon, where they reared ten children, all of whom were enrolled on Grand Ronde. Although the Pichette children never received land allotments, they did share in the per capita distribution of funds from both the sale of surplus reservation lands and the Grand Ronde Minor's Fund (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1907). In 1925, John B. Pichette testified at a probate hearing for his daughter that he was a Chinook Indian (Portland Area Office 1925).

After the Oregon Superintendency was abolished in 1873, the Federal Government maintained contact with the non-reservation Indians through its agents on the five established reservations in Oregon. The Office of Indian Affairs provided only limited trust services to these individuals. After 1895, these consisted primarily of supervising the Fourth Section allotments and occasionally enrolling students in Indian boarding schools.

In 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs established an agency at Roseburg, Oregon (in Douglas County) to serve the estimated 8000 non-reservation Indians in Western Oregon and Northern California. With a limited staff that never exceeded more than five clerks, Horace G. Wilson served as the Superintendent of the Roseburg Agency from 1910 to 1916. In his first annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs he stated that under his jurisdiction there were no Indian day or boarding schools, police or courts of Indian offenses, physicians or nurses, trust funds or annuities, government buildings or contract supplies. He stated further that there were no tribal councils or business committees operative among the Public Domain Indians. Wilson also enumerated the tribal groups under his jurisdiction, but this list did not include any Chinooks or Tchinquos (Roseburg Agency 1910-1917).

The Roseburg Agency proceeded to issue timber allotments, to sell or lease a number of Public Domain allotments, and to establish Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts for allottees who gained an income from their trust lands. But it did not expand the level of its health, education, and welfare services to the non-reservation population (Roseburg Agency 1910-1917).

Between 1915 and 1917, the Roseburg Agency attempted to compile an annual census of the Indians under its jurisdiction. Only two Tchinquo relatives appear on these rolls: Charles Parazzo, the husband of Nellie Palouse, and Louis Pelland, a grandson of Victoria Pichette, who was also married to an Indian woman, Francis Rondeau (Roseburg Agency 1915-1917).

In 1918, the Roseburg Agency was abolished and its jurisdiction over Western Oregon was transferred to the Siletz Agency. In 1920 the Siletz Superintendent also reported that there were no tribal councils or business committees organized among the Public Domain Indians (Siletz Indian School 1920). Responsibility for the non-reservation tribal members was again transferred in 1925 to the Salem Indian School near Salem. By this time, approximately two-thirds of the Public Domain allotments had been sold out of trust, and the Office of Indian Affairs had lost track of a sizeable portion of the non-reservation population.

INTERMARRIAGE ON KLAMATH

By a treaty of October 4, 1864, the Klamath Indian Reservation was created in southern Oregon, east of the Cascade Mountains, for members of the Klamath, Modoc, Snake, and Pit River tribes. The Tchinquo petition maintains that some ancestors of the group moved from western Oregon to this reservation in the 1870s, where they were employed as interpreters for the Klamath Agency. The Wuerch thesis also states that the ethnologist J.C. Pilling was given a vocabulary of one of the Middle Chinook dialects by a native informant on Klamath in 1877 (pp. 141-142). However, the Klamath census records do not show any Tchinquo ancestors prior to 1902, and the personnel records of the Klamath Agency likewise fail to indicate that any group members were employed as interpreters. After the turn of the century, two Tchinquo ancestors married Klamath tribal members, and some of their children and grandchildren were subsequently enrolled

on Klamath, where they received land allotments, annuities, and trust services from the Federal Government.

In 1901 or 1902, Joseph Parazoo, the son of Louis Parazoo and Reinette Larrison, was married to Mary Mitchell, a Modoc allottee from the Klamath Reservation. The 1900 Federal census lists Joseph Parazoo as residing in the East Umpqua District of Douglas County (Bureau of the Census 1900), and the 1900 Klamath Indian census lists Mary Mitchell and her son Fay. But the 1902 Klamath census lists "Mary Mitchell Parazoo" with the notation "married to white man" (Klamath Agency 1902).

Three of the four children born to Joseph Parazoo and Mary Mitchell (Leland, Minerva, and Azalea) were enrolled as tribal members and allotted land on the Klamath Reservation. The other died at birth. After both Mary Mitchell and her daughter Minerva died in 1905, Joseph Parazoo inherited an interest in their separate trust estates, as well as in those of two collateral relatives of Mary Mitchell. At his wife's probate hearing, Joseph Parazoo claimed that he was a "Molalla Indian" who was "also of French extraction" (Klamath Agency 1956a).

In 1907, Joseph Parazoo, who was a grandson of Jean Baptiste Perrault, was married in Douglas County to Evelyn (a.k.a. Lena) Pelland, a granddaughter of Victoria Despard Pichette. The previous year, Joseph's brother, Henry Parazoo, had married Evelyn's sister Ada (Ada Parazoo Collection). On their marriage license, Joseph and Evelyn were both listed as being "French" (Oregon State Archives 1907-1948).

Joseph and Evelyn Parazoo apparently moved back and forth between Western Oregon and the Klamath area, and had six children of their own. Joseph's children by Mary Mitchell were cared for by his mother Reinette (Ellen) Larrison Parazoo Rondeau, who was then residing in Lane County. In 1911, Mrs. Rondeau wrote and visited the Roseburg Superintendent regarding the children's Klamath annuity payments (Rondeau 1911). The Roseburg Superintendent then requested the Klamath Superintendent to investigate this matter (Wilson 1911). During that same year, Joseph signed an affidavit for the probate hearing of a Public Domain allottee in which he stated that he was a member of the "Spokane and Umatilla Tribes of Indians" (Parazoo 1911).

The personnel records of the Klamath Agency indicate that Joseph Parazoo was employed by the Agency as a "seasonal timber guard" between 1912 and 1914 (Klamath Agency 1912-14). There is no indication that any of the Tchinouk ancestors were employed there prior to this time. Evangline died in 1917 and Joseph in 1918. Although both were listed as being non-Indian in his probate records, Joseph's trust interests on Klamath were inherited in equal shares by his five living children from his two marriages (Klamath Agency 1919).

In 1904, Joseph's brother Louis was married in Douglas County to Ellen McKay, who was also enrolled at Klamath. This couple had at least one child, Arthur Parazoo, who died in 1908 at age 2. Louis and Ellen were divorced in 1912 and she may have died shortly thereafter, because in 1915 Louis was determined in a probate hearing to be the sole heir of the 160 acre tract on Klamath which had been allotted to their son Arthur. At the hearing Louis testified that he was of "mixed French-Indian blood" (Klamath Agency 1956a). He kept this allotment until 1938, when he had the trust deed transferred to another Klamath enrollee (Klamath Agency 1938). Louis continued to reside in Klamath County until his death in 1942 (Klamath Agency 1956a).

The allotments of Minerva and Azalea Parazoo, the daughters of Joseph Parazoo and Mary Mitchell, continued to remain in trust until 1956 (Klamath Agency 1956a). Joseph

and Mary's son, Leland D. Parazoo, attended the Klamath Boarding School and regularly received annuity and per capita payments through the Klamath Agency (Klamath Agency; 1908; 1911; 1920; 1929). In 1923, he relinquished his original allotment, and in 1924 he sold other trust land that he had purchased under a restricted deed in 1920. He subsequently purchased a town lot in Chiloquin, Oregon under another restricted trust deed. In 1929, he wrote to the Klamath Superintendent asking that the restrictions be removed from this property (Parazoo 1929), but his request was denied (Arnold 1929). In 1931, he was permitted to convey this land to his daughter Alfreda under a restricted trust deed, and she subsequently conveyed the lot in trust to her infant daughter (Klamath Agency 1956a).

Alfreda Parazoo attended the Salem (Chemawa) Indian Boarding School and received medical treatment at the University of Oregon Hospital under the auspices of the Klamath Agency. She also received per capita trust annuity payments and judgment award funds (Klamath Agency 1920; 1939).

Azalea Parazoo attended the Klamath and Salem Indian boarding schools (Klamath Agency 1925) and received medical treatment at the Phoenix Indian Sanatorium (Klamath Agency, 1956a). On her school records her father, Joseph Parazoo, was listed as being "1/4 blood Molalla" (Klamath Agency, 1925). She eventually married a non-Indian and moved to Canada. She was unsuccessful in getting her five daughters enrolled at Klamath (Klamath Agency 1926a).

The four surviving children of Joseph Parazoo and Evelyn Pelland all held inherited interests in Klamath trust estates (Klamath 1956b). But they were never enrolled in the Klamath Tribe and did not share in the per capita distribution of Klamath annuities and judgment awards. Because their parents died when they were quite young, they were placed in a number of Indian boarding schools, including Klamath, Salem (Chemawa), Sherman, and Haskell. Although their families had been Roman Catholic, like most of the Tchinouk ancestors, these children were listed as being Methodist in their school records. Their Indian blood quantum was also described as being "1/2 Modoc" even though neither of their parents had any Modoc ancestry. At Salem Indian School, however, one was listed as being "Molalla/Umpqua" (Klamath Agency 1923).

In 1935, one of the sons of Joseph and Evelyn Parazoo married a woman who was enrolled on Klamath as a Pit River Indian. This couple had six children who were also enrolled (Varner 1965). On the birth records of these children their father was listed as being "1/4 Umpqua" (Klamath Agency 1954).

Another son married an enrolled member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe in South Dakota. This couple had six children, including Karleen Parazoo, the current Tchinouk chairman. Two of these children were enrolled at Rosebud, but none was ever enrolled at Klamath, even though the family continued to live in the Klamath area. Nevertheless, they all attended Indian boarding schools. Of the other two children of Joseph and Evelyn, one settled at Gilchrist, Oregon, in northern Klamath County, and the other moved out of the Klamath area to Nisqually, Washington (Douglas County Museum n.d.).

Paul Parazoo, the son of Pierre and Marie Pariseau of Douglas County, was also married to a Klamath allottee named Julia Obenchain and inherited a courtesy right or life estate in her trust allotment (Klamath Agency 1924). But although he was related to the other Parazoos, Paul did not have any Chinook ancestry.

IDENTIFICATION AS INDIAN IN THE 20th CENTURY

As far back as their history can be accurately traced, the Tchinouks have never constituted a separate and distinct Indian community. On French Prairie they were but a small segment of an amalgamated Canadian-Indian settlement. In Southwestern Oregon they comprised a group of related individuals who made an effort to maintain social and familial ties, and who sometimes lived in close proximity to each other. Yet as a group they were not considered by others to be an Indian enclave, and as individuals they did not always identify themselves nor were they always identified by others as being of Indian descent. In contrast, most of the Tchinouks in the Klamath area were integrated into the larger Indian community there. Although those not enrolled in the Klamath Tribe were considered by Klamath tribal members to be outsiders, they were not considered part of a separate Indian community.

By and large, the Tchinouks in the Klamath area more readily identified themselves as being Indian and were more consistently identified by others as being such than those who resided in Western Oregon. Perhaps this is due to the fact that on Klamath these people were surrounded by a large Indian population, and many of them were enrolled as tribal members, whereas in Lane and Douglas Counties they did not have enrollment status for the most part and were more likely to be considered negatively by the dominant white population if they identified themselves as being part of the largely unwelcomed Indian minority.

A sampling was made of the racial identification of Tchinouk ancestors and present members in the public records of Douglas and Klamath counties. These included documents in which the identification was usually made by a county official, such as marriage records and police files, and those where the racial designation was most often made by the individual, including military draft registration and discharge papers. Of eight marriages involving Tchinouk partners in Douglas County between 1907 and 1948, only one group member was listed as being Indian (Oregon State Archives 1907-1948). Likewise, group members were identified as being white in all of the five draft registration cards (U.S. War Department 1915-1919), four out of the five military discharge records (Douglas County Clerk 1919-1984), and eight out of the ten criminal arrest records that were found in this county (Douglas County Sheriff 1955-1984). In a sampling of the 1900 and 1910 Federal census for Douglas County, all but two of the enumerated members of the Parazoo and Pelland families were listed as being white (Bureau of the Census 1900; 1910).

The stigma attached to being Indian in Douglas County was aptly demonstrated by an incident involving a grandson of Pierre Pariseau. On November 11, 1915, this young man was placed on trial in Roseburg on a civil charge. He had apparently left his family in Douglas County to live with some relatives on the Klamath Reservation. In its account of the trial, the Evening Roseburg Review described the defendant as being "a half blood Indian." Although his Indian blood quantum was at least 1/16 Cree through his grandmother, Marie Dompier Pariseau, his non-Indian mother, wrote an indignant letter to the editor of the News challenging that paper's description of her son. "Although the boy is dark and presiding among the half breeds," she wrote, "he is no more Indian than any of you" (Douglas County Museum n.d.).

Local records may reflect a reluctance on the part of Tchinouk ancestors in Western Oregon to identify themselves as Indians. Yet, if they asserted this identification at all, one might reasonably expect to find some indication of this fact in Federal records. Despite this supposition, only a few Tchinouk relatives were identified as being Indian on a substantially continuous basis in the records of the Office of Indian Affairs. As

previously pointed out, only two Tchinouk relatives, Charles Parazoo and Louis Pelland, were listed on the annual census taken by the Roseburg Agency between 1915 and 1917 (Roseburg Agency 1915-1917). These two, who are not direct Tchinouk ancestors, were also the only relatives listed on the annual census of non-reservation Indians compiled by the Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency between 1926 and 1937. However, it is interesting to note that Louis Pelland's tribal affiliation was listed as "Upper Chinook" on the 1933 census roll (Salem Indian School 1926-37).

Federal records indicate that at least five other Tchinouk relatives attended the Salem (Chemawa) Indian School between 1896 and 1923. Of this number, however, three were from the Klamath area and the other two were members of the Pichette family who were enrolled on the Grand Ronde Reservation (Smith 1976). A census of Indian school children compiled by the Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency in 1926 lists two Tchinouk ancestors from the Klamath area but none in Western Oregon (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1926). A survey of Indian families conducted by the same agency in 1939 listed only two ancestral families residing near Sutherlin, Oregon in Douglas County (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1939).

In 1940, the Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency attempted to compile a more comprehensive census of the non-reservation Indian population in Western Oregon. Twenty-seven Tchinouk ancestors and present group members were listed on this roll, which proved to be the last census of the "Public Domain" Indians. Of this number, 14 were members of the Pichette family enrolled at Grand Ronde, who were all listed as being Chinook. The others, all members of the Parazoo family line, were listed as either Umpqua or Molalla. None of the members of the Pelland family was included (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1940). A census of Indian school children conducted by the agency in 1945 included seven Tchinouk relatives, all of whom were attending public schools in either Sutherlin or Oakland, Oregon. Two of these students, Pichettes who were enrolled at Grand Ronde, were listed as being "Chinook." The others were listed as "Molalla-Umpqua" (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1945).

In the Klamath area the situation was much different. Since nearly all of the Tchinouks from there were either enrolled as members of the Klamath Tribe or admitted to Indian boarding schools, they were consistently identified in Federal records as being Indian. They were also regularly designated as being such by local officials in Klamath County. Marriage records available in the County Clerk's office did not list the race of the applicants. But of the eight group members who had arrest records, all were identified by the Sheriff as being Indian (Klamath County Sheriff 1955-1984). While group members were also listed as being Indian on the two military discharge papers that were found, two of the three draft registration cards list the individuals as being white (Klamath County Clerk 1919-1984; U.S. War Department 1915-1919).

The identity problem of the Tchinouks was not only that they failed to always be identified as Indians, but also that they did not consistently identify themselves as being Chinooks or Tchinouks. Prior to 1957, they most often identified themselves and were referred to by others as being Umpqua or Molalla Indians, or a combination of these two tribal groups. In some records, for example, they were listed as belonging to the "Molalla Band of the Umpquas." Likewise, the children of those who intermarried at Klamath were often listed as being "Klamath-Umpqua" or "Klamath-Molalla." Only the Pichette family members enrolled at Grand Ronde consistently maintained a Chinook identity.

The reasons for this loss of tribal identity is not entirely clear. While the Umpqua, Molalla, and Cillapuya bands were indigenous to the region west of the Cascade Mountains

in Oregon, they were quite distinct from each other and from the Chinooks. Among other differences was the fact that they all spoke different languages: the Molallas spoke a Waiilatpuan dialect, the Umpquas an Athabascan, and the Calapuyas a Kalapuyan (Hodge 1907-10, I:187, 930; II:866).

The Tchinouk relatives who settled in southwestern Oregon may have gradually taken on a new identity as a result of being repeatedly told that they belonged to other descendant Indian groups, including the unorganized Umpquas and Molallas. There was in fact some association between these people in the various claims organizations, as well as a small degree of intermarriage. Because there tended to be some clustering of these families of mixed Indian background, particularly in the Sutherlin and Little River areas of Douglas County, perhaps the general population came to identify all of the descendants living in one locale to be either Umpqua or Molalla.

ORGANIZATION TO 1954

No evidence has been found to indicate that the Tchinouk Indians have ever been organized as an autonomous entity which maintained political influence over its members. Some observers have concluded that what remained of the aboriginal political organization of the Chinooks dissolved almost completely by the 1850s (Ruby and Brown 1976:242). No organized Indian entity existed on French Prairie, and while some influential family members may have evolved in southwestern Oregon and on Klamath, a constitutionally based Tchinouk organization was not formed until 1974. Prior to this, some descendants and family members were active in the broadly based Indian claims organizations which had been formed as early as the 1920s. In 1947, some of them were also organized as the Sutherlin Group of Indians. However, these organizations focused almost exclusively on the pursuit of legal claims, and did not function as governing bodies for a distinct Indian community.

Many of the Indian descendants in southwestern Oregon held annual meetings or powwows at traditional gathering places. Beginning in the 1890s, for example, people from various tribal backgrounds came together each year at Huckleberry Patch in the South Umpqua Valley of Douglas County. Here, according to a member of the Cow Creek Band of Umpquas, they encamped for up to a month to hunt, gather berries, and hold traditional dances, feasts, and other ceremonies (Bergman 1979). In the 1920s some Tchinouk ancestors also began to have seasonal get-togethers at the Fair Oaks Grange Hall in Sutherlin and elsewhere in Douglas County (F.D.). Although some claims business was apparently discussed at these meetings, they were primarily informal social gatherings which functioned to maintain family ties between those living on opposite sides of the Cascade Mountains. No evidence has been found to indicate that these meetings served a broader political function.

The pursuit of aboriginal land claims provided the impetus for the formal political organization of many of the fragmented Indian bands in Oregon and Washington. However, these claims committees, which tended to cut across tribal lines, seldom functioned as governing bodies.

In 1897, the Nehalem Band of Tillamook Indians, which also included some Chinook descendants, was awarded \$10,500 by Congress as settlement for one of the unratified Tansey Point treaties of 1851. This award encouraged the descendants of the Chinooks Proper, the Clatsops, the Kathlamets, and the Wahkiakums to file a similar claim for their confiscated lands. In 1905, they pressured Congress to order an investigation of their claims, and in 1906, the Office of Indian Affairs dispatched Charles E. McChesney to prepare a roll of the descendants of those Lower Chinooks who were living in 1851.

In 1912, Congress awarded the descendants of these tribal groups a total of \$50,500, and McChesney was ordered to prepare a final roll of the individual beneficiaries of this award. His supplemental rolls were then approved by the Secretary of the Interior on April 18, 1914 (Ruby and Brown 1976:246; Hauke 1914).

In order to be included on the the final McChesney roll, individuals were required to submit affidavits proving their Chinook ancestry. On August 14, 1913, Jim Pichette, a son of Victoria Pichette who was then residing in Idaho, submitted affidavits on behalf of himself and his nine living brothers and sisters. After receiving these affidavits and reviewing the testimony of some Lower Chinook elders, McChesney determined that the Pichettes were not eligible for the judgment award. "These parties are not known by the Lower Band of Chinook Indians," he noted, "while they may be Chinook Indians, they belong to one of the upper bands and do not come under the Act of Congress" (Pichette 1913).

McChesney also rejected at least three other individuals, none of whom were Tchinouk ancestors, because he had been told by reliable Lower Chinooks at Bay Center, Washington that they belonged "to the Konnaack band of Chinook Indians and not the Lower Chinook" (Skamock 1913). This is the only reference that was found regarding descendants of the Konnaack Band after 1851. None of the descendants of the Konnaack or Klatskania bands ever petitioned Congress or filed legal claims related to the Tansey Point treaties. Nor were any of the Tchinouk ancestors included on the final McChesney roll.

In 1916, members of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw bands of southern Oregon organized under the leadership of George Bundy Wasson to pursue their land claims (U.S. House of Representatives 1954:16). Over the course of the next forty years, some of the Tchinouk relatives became associated with broader claims organizations which were formed by Wasson and others in southern and western Oregon.

In the early 1920s, some Indian descendants in Douglas County began holding claims meetings at the old Tiller Hotel in Tiller, Oregon (Bergman 1979). On February 15, 1922, some Tchinouk ancestors were among the fifty descendants of various Umpqua and Molalla bands that met at Roseburg to pursue a \$12 million claim against the United States for land allegedly confiscated from them in 1847 (Roseburg Weekly News-Review). A chairman and claims committee was elected and later that year another meeting was held to select an attorney to serve as legal counsel. In 1929, Congress permitted the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw bands to bring their suit before the United States Court of Claims (45 Stat. 1256).

On May 13, 1935, some of the Tchinouk ancestors were among the Umpquas and Calapuyas who gathered at Little River, Oregon to select delegates who would represent the "Indians residing at Sutherlin and Little River" at a large claims council of Western Oregon Indians to be held at the Salem Indian School in October and December of that year (Sutherlin and Little River Indians 1935). Albert Pelland was very active in these organizations, and in December, 1936, he was elected to represent the Sutherlin area (Indians Living in the Umpqua Valley 1936).

In 1935, the several claims organizations representing the Umpqua, Molalla, and Calapuya bands succeeded in getting Congress to authorize the United States Court of Claims to adjudicate what became known as "The Rogue River Case." This suit charged the United States with failure to discharge its obligations under seven treaties ratified between 1853 and 1855. The Court, in 1946, denied participation to twenty-one of the original twenty-eight plaintiff bands. But in 1950, it entered judgment in favor of the

Umpqua and Calapuya bands of the Umpqua Valley and the Molalla Tribe (U.S. House of Representatives 1954:16).

In 1935, Congress authorized suits to be filed on behalf of several claims organizations which had pursued cases against the United States for lands appropriated by the Government without benefit of a treaty (49 Stat. 801). In 1946, the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the Court of Claims which denied the participation of the Chinook, Umpqua, and Grand Ronde Indians in this suit which became known as the "Alsea Case." As a result of subsequent proceedings and judgments, however, awards were eventually made to bands of the Tillamook, Coquilles, and Tututnis, as well as to the Chetco Tribe (U.S. House of Representatives 1954:15).

In the 1930s, the Chinook bands in Washington which had received a judgment award from Congress in 1912, joined with various other groups to file an additional claim before the United States Court of Claims. But no payment was ever made in this case (Duwamish v. United States) because the value of the aboriginal property damages could not be determined. The Tchinouk ancestors were not a party to this suit, either as a group or as individuals. Instead, they were involved during this period in the pursuit of the Umpqua, Molalla, and Calapuya claims (Ruby and Brown 1976:247).

In March of 1934, the Office of Indian Affairs conducted a conference at the Salem Indian School to explain the self-government provisions of the proposed Indian Reorganization Act (Ryan 1934b). None of the Tchinouk relatives attended this conference. Although the Salem Superintendent had stated that it would not be feasible to organize a tribal council which would function for all of the Western Oregon Indians (Ryan 1934a), the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, had earlier expressed his desire to give these people every opportunity to consolidate their remaining trust lands (Collier 1934).

In early 1939, a committee under Henry Roe Cloud was instructed by the Office of Indian Affairs to determine, among other things, the tribal status of the Western Oregon Indians (Daiker 1939). Among the three major groups which the committee identified were the twenty or so "Umpqua" families who lived around the Tiller, Days Creek, Roseburg, and Sutherlin communities in Douglas County. The Superintendent of the Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency, who then had jurisdiction over these people, reported that "outside of an occasional request for medical attention and education facilities, these families have made no special demands of this agency" (Woolridge, et al. 1939:9).

After a twenty year effort, the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw bands succeeded in getting their land claims before the United States Court of Claims in 1938. However, the court rejected this case on the grounds that these bands had ceased to exist as distinct tribal entities, and the United States Supreme Court upheld this decision (U.S. House of Representatives 1954:17). Undaunted by these developments, the various other claims organizations in Western Oregon continued their efforts to get their cases filed with the Court of Claims or with the Indian Claims Commission. In 1947, the so-called "Sutherlin Group of Indians" elected five Tchinouk ancestors and/or current members (Goldie, Marshall, and Douglas Parazoo, Luella Plueard, and Albert Pelland), to represent them at claims conferences to be held at Empire and Salem, Oregon, and to work with George Bundy Wasson in pursuing the claims of the Indians of Western Oregon (Sutherlin Group of Indians 1947).

TERMINATION

On August 13, 1954, Congress passed Public Law 588 which authorized the termination of all Federal supervision over the Indians of Western Oregon within two years (68 Stat. 724). This legislation had been drafted in accordance with the policy which Congress and the Department of Interior had in 1953 expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 108 to terminate all Federal trust relationships with Indian tribes or groups as rapidly as circumstances would allow. It was felt that the Indian people living in Western Oregon had progressed to the point that they could adequately manage their own affairs without further Government assistance. "Through long association and intermarriage with their white neighbors, education in public schools, employment in gainful occupations in order to obtain a livelihood, and dependance on public institutions for public services," wrote Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orme Lewis to Vice President Richard M. Nixon in recommending this legislation, "the Indians have largely been integrated into the white society where they are accepted without discrimination" (Lewis 1954).

The services provided to the Indians of Western Oregon by the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been considerably narrowed over the years, and consisted in 1954 of managing the remaining trust property and Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts, supervising timber sales, and providing limited health, education, and welfare benefits (U.S. House of Representatives: 1954:18-19). Within two years after Public Law 588 was enacted, the Bureau of Indian Affairs dissolved all of its services to these people, issued patents in fee for the individual trust allotments, and transferred all tribal lands to tribal corporations or other trustees.

It was clearly the intent of Congress to dissolve the Federal trust relationships with all of the Indians in Western Oregon, i.e., those living west of the Cascade Mountains. As a result, Public Law 588 contained a list of all the "tribes, bands, groups, and communities" that were ever known to exist in this region, including many that had long been extinct. Among the sixty tribal entities specifically listed were the Chinooks, the Skilloots, the Northern Molalla, the Southern Molalla, the Lower Umpqua, the Upper Umpqua, and the Calapuya (69 Stat. 724).

Under the provisions of Public Law 588, final rolls were prepared for the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations. However, it was determined that it would not be feasible to compile an accurate roll of the non-reservation Indians. In its legislative report on the termination bill, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs concluded that "these Indians maintain no tribal organizations and are not usually identified as Indian groups" (U.S. House of Representatives 1954:2).

Section 13(c) of Public Law 588 authorized a special program of education and training for those tribal members for whom the Federal trust relationship would be terminated. At least ten present Tchinouk groups members applied to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Relocation for financial assistance under this program and most were subsequently relocated to Los Angeles, Denver, or elsewhere for vocational training. On their applications for relocation services, all of these individuals listed their tribal affiliation as being either Umpqua or Molalla (Portland Area Office 1955).

Richard B. Thierolf, Jr., the legal counsel for the petitioner, maintains that Public Law 588 could not have terminated the government-to-government relationship between the Tchinouk Indians and the United States due to the fact that such a relationship did not exist. In a written opinion of August 30, 1984, he pointed out that the purpose of the law was to terminate "federal supervision over the trust and restricted

property of certain tribes and bands . . . and the individual members thereof." Thierolf concludes, therefore, that since the United States never recognized the Tchinouks as being an Indian tribe or held land in trust for this group, Public Law 588 did not apply to them. As a result, he feels that the Tchinouks are not precluded by 25 CFR 83.7(g) from seeking Federal acknowledgment (Thierolf 1984). In 1975, a similar view was expressed by Charles F. Wilkinson, a professor at the University of Oregon Law School and a leading authority on Federal Indian law. On September 9, in a letter to the Office of the Solicitor, Department of the Interior, he wrote that the "Tchinouks are a non-recognized tribe rather than a terminated tribe" (Wilkinson 1975).

Despite these views, the Tchinouks have generally been considered as being a terminated group of Indians since 1954. When, for example, Karleen (Parazoo) McKenzie and her son applied for medical services from the Indian Health Service facility at Salem in 1975, they were denied on the grounds that they belonged to a tribal group that had been terminated (Davis 1975). In a report on their tribal status written at the request of the Tchinouks, the Native American Rights Funds also concluded that they were a terminated group (NARF n.d.).

Congress also authorized the termination of Federal supervision over the Klamath Indians on August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718). This legislation directed the Klamath Tribe to prepare a final membership roll, which was subsequently completed in 1957 (Klamath Agency 1957). At least six Tchinouk relatives were listed on this final roll, and it is estimated that several more of the present members born after 1957 might qualify for Klamath enrollment if the Federal trust relationship was ever restored for that tribe.

The Klamath termination act provided for a similar dissolution of trust property, funds, and services as did Public Law 588. All tribal trust funds and the proceeds from the sale of tribal land were distributed on a per capita basis to those tribal members listed on the final roll. Approximately 63 percent of the individual trust funds were transferred to a private trust, and the remainder were disbursed directly to tribal members (Stern 1965:245). Three of the Tchinouk group members had their funds transferred to the trusteeship of the First National Bank of Portland (Portland Area Office 1965).

In 1956, those who had inherited interests in the Minerva and Azalea Parazoo allotments on Klamath, which included several present Tchinouk group members, were permitted to sell these lands out of trust, although they retained sub-surface rights to this property (Klamath Agency 1956c). The Federal trust over other properties held by the Parazoo family was similarly dissolved by 1961, the year in which the termination of the Klamath Reservation became legally effective. In 1965, four Tchinouk relatives applied to share in the distribution of funds awarded to the Klamath Tribe by the Indian Claims Commission in Docket 100 (Klamath Agency 1965b).

ORGANIZATION SINCE 1954

On November 1, 1951, Congress appropriated funds in satisfaction of judgments obtained by the Alsea Band of Tillamooks and the Rogue River Tribes of Indians in the U.S. Court of Claims (65 Stat. 754). On August 30, 1954, Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to prepare separate rolls of the Indian bands who were beneficiaries of this Western Oregon Judgment Fund (68 Stat. 979). These included the Molalla Tribe, the Confederated Bands of the Umpqua, the Calapuyas of the Umpqua Valley, and the Tillamook, Coquille, Tututni, and Chetco tribes of Oregon. These rolls were also to be utilized for the per capita distribution of all remaining trust funds on deposit in the United States Treasury to the credit of these respective bands, since they were all affected by the Western Oregon Termination Act.

In order to qualify for participation in the distribution of the Western Oregon Judgment Fund, claimants had to prove that they were lineal descendants of members of the beneficiary tribes or bands. The Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was given the responsibility of determining eligibility for these judgment rolls. Because of the large degree of intermarriage between these groups, the BIA gave enrollment applicants their choice of up to three tribal affiliations. However, applicants were required to substantiate their claims by providing certain information regarding their family history.

Under these criteria the majority of the Tchinouk group members applied to share in the Western Oregon Judgment Fund. On their applications they listed their tribal choices as Umpqua, Molalla, or Calapuya. After conducting genealogical research on the various Tchinouk claimants, the Portland Area Office discovered from the Catholic church records that these individuals traced back to "Tchinouk" ancestors and not to members of the aboriginal Molalla, Umpqua, or Calapuya tribes (Portland Area Office 1957). Consequently, it sent these people "Notices of Rejection" in 1957 which denied their participation in the judgment award. The knowledge that they were in fact Chinook descendants shocked many of those who believed that they were descendants of one of the three beneficiary tribes, and especially those who had worked with the claims organizations for many years in the pursuit of this award. At least three Tchinouk group members appealed the decision of the Portland Area Office, but their denial was upheld by the Office of the Solicitor, Department of the Interior, in 1959 (Office of the Solicitor 1959).

In 1976, O. J. (Joe) Pelland, a Tchinouk leader, claimed in a letter to the Portland Area Office that these people already knew that they were Chinook descendants, and that they had only applied for the Western Oregon Judgment award at the insistence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (O. J. Pelland 1976). But the research indicates that the majority of these people did not identify themselves as Chinooks or Tchinouks prior to 1957 and were not identified by others as being such.

Once they were made aware of the fact that they were Chinook descendants, the petitioners began to take an interest in the Chinook claim which had been pending before the Indian Claims Commission since 1951 (Docket 234). As early as 1961, Tchinouk group members began writing the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding the status of this claim (Portland Area Office 1961). On November 4, 1970, the Indian Claims Commission awarded \$48,692.05 to the Clatsop and Lower Band of Chinooks as additional compensation for lands taken from them in 1851. By an Act of October 31, 1972 (86 Stat. 1498) Congress appropriated the funds necessary to pay this award. These funds were subsequently deposited in the U.S. Treasury and have yet to be disbursed to beneficiaries of the Docket 234 award.

The possibility of participating in the Chinook Judgment award may have provided the impetus for the Tchinouks to organize. The interest of group members in the Chinook award is evidenced by the several letters they wrote in the early 1970s to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Office of the Solicitor, and the Oregon Congressional delegation (Portland Area Office 1961; Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d.). In April, 1973, a group of Tchinouk representatives held a meeting with Kent Elliott, the chairman of the Lower Band of Chinooks (a.k.a. the Chinook Nation) in Skamokawa, Washington, who were one of the original plaintiffs in the Docket 234 claim, to discuss the possibility of their sharing of the judgment award. Elliott was less than enthusiastic about this idea and refused to support the Tchinouks in their claims. Nevertheless, some Tchinouks, including Karleen Parazon, were allowed to become members of the Chinook group at Skamokawa (Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d.).

On June 2, 1974, the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, more than forty Tchinouk group members met at the Fair Oaks Grange Hall in Sutherlin, Oregon to form a tribal organization to be known as "The Lower Band of Chinook Indians of the Columbia River" (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-1984). Three other meetings were held during that month, and on June 16, 1974, Karleen (Parazoo) McKenzie was elected to serve as chairman of the organization. A constitution was drafted the next year which claimed that the organization represented "all ten bands of said Tchinouk Indians." These included the "Clatsop, Wheelapas, Quillequeoquas, Waukikum, Konnaack, Kathlamet, Tillamook, Klatskania, Wallooska, and the Lower Band of Tchinouk Indians." The constitution also established criteria for enrollment in this organization. Eligibility was extended to all those who could prove by their "Notices of Rejection" that they had been denied participation in the Western Oregon Judgment Fund award on the grounds that they were Tchinouk descendants, and their relatives by blood (Lower Band of Tchinouks 1974).

The Sutherlin Group of Indians apparently dissolved in 1957. According to Karleen Parazoo the Tchinouk relatives living east of the Cascades had been organized for as long as ten years prior to this under the leadership of Claude, Bud, and Gladys Parazoo (F. D.). However, there is no documentary evidence to support this assertion, since the minutes of their meetings were apparently lost or destroyed. Karleen claimed to have inherited the leadership of the eastern organization from her father, Claude Parazoo, following his death in 1958. In 1974, she invited the "Western kin" to join in establishing "a distinct political entity with the right to determine its membership" (Tchinouk Files). Later, in 1978, there was some conflict between Karleen and Albert and Joe Pelland, the apparent leaders of the western families. This stemmed from reactions to an informal history of the Pelland, Pichette, Parazoo, and Plueard families, called the "House of Poor." Despite this friction, the eastern and western families voted to maintain the Tchinouk organization in order to petition for Federal acknowledgment (F.D.).

On June 30, 1974, the Tchinouks met with John Weddel, the Tribal Operations Officer of the Portland Area Office of the BIA, who explained the Docket 234 judgment award. Following this meeting, the organization voted to protest the fact that they were not being considered as eligible for the Chinook judgment award, and to stage a demonstration of their demands. On July 13, 1974, the organization petitioned the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs to be included in the Chinook judgment award. This petition was acknowledged but never acted upon (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-1984). Payment of the Chinook judgment award is still pending.

On August 10, 1974, several Tchinouk group members met at Long Beach, Washington, near the mouth of the Columbia River, to scatter dirt from the graves of their ancestors buried at Fort Klamath, and to stake their claim symbolically to land along the banks. They then proceeded to Fort Canby Park where they set up a tipi and donned Plains Indian headdress and beaded regalia. The next morning, they staged a car caravan back to the Oregon side of the Columbia, where they held demonstrations at Fort Stevens State Park, at Tansey Point, and at Clatsop Plains. At each of these places they staked their claim to the lands and read copies of the original Tansey Point treaties, a summary history of their group, and a list of current demands (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-84).

Members of the Tchinouk group held ten meetings between June, 1974 and February, 1975, during which time they changed the name of their organization five times. Starting out as the "Lower Band of Chinook Indians of the Columbia River," they subsequently referred to themselves as the "Lower Band of Chinook Indians of Oregon," the "Lower

Band of Chinooks and Clatsop People," and the "Lower Band of Tchinouk Indians." Finally, at a meeting on February 16, 1975, the twenty-seven group members present voted to change the name again to the "Columbia River Tchinouk Indians" (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-1984).

It was under the name of the Lower Band of Tchinouk Indians that the organization drafted a constitution in 1975. This document established leadership in an elected Board of Directors consisting of a chairman, co-chairman, secretary, treasurer, and eight delegates ("Four adult women and Four adult men") (Lower Band of Tchinouks 1975). On May 7, 1975, the organization was incorporated under the laws of the State of Oregon as "Columbia River Tchinouk Indians, Inc." (Columbia River Tchinouk Indians Inc. 1975). A tribal office was established at Karleen Parazoo's home in Klamath Falls, and the membership roll was closed on October 31, 1975. At that time there were 269 members (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-84).

In November, 1976, Karleen Parazoo wrote letters to the Pacific General Electric Company and to the President of the United States claiming that the Trojan Nuclear Power Plant near Ranier, Oregon was on Tchinouk land and demanding that it be removed. On August 6, 1977, several Tchinouk group members joined with a nuclear power protest group, the Trojan Decommission Alliance, in staging a four-day demonstration at the power plant. More than 270 persons were arrested after the demonstrators crashed the gates. In their defense, the non-Indian protestors claimed that the Tchinouk owned legal title to the land and that they had the permission of the Tchinouks to be there (Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d.).

In March of 1977, the organization drafted new bylaws for its corporation and legally changed its name from "Columbia River Tchinouk Indians, Inc." to "Tchinouk Indians, Inc." (Tchinouk Indians Inc. 1977). In May, a new constitution was adopted for the "General Council of Tchinouk Indians" which claimed to represent "the Tchinouk Tribe of Indians of the Kooniac and Klatskania bands." This document revised the criteria for membership to include those who could prove "Tchinouk Indian ancestry and Descendancy by blood," but did not establish a blood quantum requirement. It also revised the organization's leadership. The Board of Directors was eliminated in favor of just four officers, a chairman, co-chairman, secretary, and a "Tribal Peace Officer," whose duty it was to keep peace at the General Council meetings (General Council of Tchinouk Indians 1977). This constitution continues to serve as the governing document for the Tchinouk organization.

The Tchinouk held their last meeting of 1977 on August 20 at the Klamath County Fairgrounds (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-1984). Sometime after that, Karleen Parazoo, who continued to serve as chairman of their organization, moved to Eugene, Oregon. In March of 1978, she was instrumental in organizing a task force aimed at forming a new organization to be known as the "Tansy (sic) Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands." This organization hoped to encompass all of the descendants of the Indian groups with which Anson Dart had negotiated at Tansey Point in 1851. In September, this task force met at the Wesley Center of the University of Oregon in Eugene to elect an acting Board of Directors and adopt a constitution and bylaws. The document that was adopted opened regular membership to those who had at least one-quarter Indian blood from one or more of the ten treaty tribes or bands. However, those with less Indian blood were entitled to enroll on a special "Hardship Roll of Membership," although they could not serve on the organization's Executive Council (Tansy Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands 1977).

The Tansy Point Ten did not prove to be a workable organization. By 1978 its name had been changed to the "Confederated Treaty Tribes of Tansy Point," and its base of operations was switched to the Tchinouk Tribal Office in Klamath Falls, to which Karleen Parazoo had returned. The Confederated Treaty Tribes applied for a technical assistance grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) in 1978, and apparently dissolved after this grant did not materialize (Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d.).

Karleen Parazoo renewed her active leadership of the Tchinouk Indians. On May 16, 1979, this group formally petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe.

Since organizing in 1974, the Tchinouks have been associated with several other Indian organizations in Oregon. But for the most part, these organizations have represented and have been primarily composed of members of other unacknowledged groups. In 1974, the Tchinouks were invited to join the Confederated Tribes of Western Oregon as associate non-voting members. This was a descendant group of Western Oregon Indians that was founded to promote the educational and economic interests of its members. In 1976, O. J. Pelland served on the Board of Directors of Indian Economic Development Inc., an organization in North Bend, Oregon which provided employment, social, and educational services to Indians in Douglas, Coos, and Curry counties. The Tchinouk were associated for a time with the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, but were never formally recognized as members. In 1977, they were active in the Native American Games Association, a Cottage Grove, Oregon based corporation which sponsored an annual games, arts, and crafts festival (Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d.).

The Tchinouks have been closely linked with the Organization of Forgotten Americans, which was founded to provide legal and other services to the Klamath Falls Indian community. Until 1978, Karleen Parazoo also served on the board of United Tribal People, an organization which provided alcohol and drug abuse programs and family counseling in the same area. Group members were also active in the Inter-Tribal Council on Indian Affairs, another Klamath area organization. Tchinouks were similarly involved in Indian organizations which aimed to restore the Federal trust relationship to the Klamath Tribe, including Southern Oregon Indian Research, Inc. and the Committee to Study Restoration. On October 7, 1978, the Klamath Tribal Council resolved to support the Tchinouk Indians in their efforts to gain Federal acknowledgment.

An analysis of the present Tchinouk membership indicates that approximately 30 percent of the group members reside in Douglas County. Of this number, nearly three quarters live in the Sutherlin area (or approximately 21 percent of the total membership). Approximately 13 percent reside in Lane County, of which over half are congregated near Springfield, and approximately 6 percent are in Klamath County, the vast majority of whom have an address in Klamath Falls. Approximately 22 percent of the members live elsewhere in Oregon, and 29 percent are scattered in nine different states (Tchinouk Tribe 1980).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS OF OREGON

Summary Under the Acknowledgment Criteria

- 83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.**

The main families ancestral to the current group's membership originated in the 1820's and 1830's with the marriages of two Indian women identified as Chinook to mixed-blood French-Canadian men in Oregon. These families settled in the French-Canadian settlement of French Prairie in the Willamette Valley of northern Oregon in the 1830's. This community, which became further mixed with Anglo-American settlers beginning in the 1840's, was not an Indian community. Although it contained many Indians from a variety of tribes and a mixed-blood French population, there was no Indian subcommunity within it.

The petitioner is essentially derived from several of a larger number of part-Indian families, of Chinook and other tribal backgrounds, which settled on lands east and west of Sutherlin, Oregon, in Douglas County, beginning in the late 1870's. Many of these families had migrated out of the French Prairie settlement, probably settling at other intermediate locations before reaching Douglas County. A few other Indians and mixed-bloods were also resident in this area by 1870. The families had no known close relationship prior to this, except for the common residence of some at French Prairie. Through intermarriage and common residence, there developed in the Sutherlin area an interconnected and somewhat localized set of mixed-blood families. There was some degree of identification of these individuals as Indians locally, e.g., on the Federal census, but no identification of an Indian group or community was found.

Three individuals from this group, from families ancestral to the petitioner, married Indians from Klamath Reservation around 1900, and came to form a small population of families in that area. These families continued to maintain contact with the Sutherlin area families. The families in the petitioner's membership are still somewhat localized in the Sutherlin area, with additional families still near the Klamath Reservation, but far less so than initially. No specific location is predominantly occupied by these families and there is no identified community of them. There is still some sense of cohesion among them as kinsmen, based on several intermarriages between family lines. Interfamily contact on this basis has occurred since the 1880's, although considerably diminished at present.

- 83.7(a) A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.**

The petitioner fails to meet criterion because it was not identified as an Indian entity between the time of the original marriages of the Chinook ancestors to Frenchmen and 1922, when an Umpqua claims organization was founded which included them as members. There is no identification of an Indian subcommunity on the French Prairie settlement.

No record was found that the group of mixed-blood and other families in the Sutherlin area after the 1870's was identified as an Indian community or as an Indian entity of any kind.

In 1922, a claims organization identifying itself as Umpqua and so identified by others was formed. Its membership included many of the Sutherlin area Indian families but was considerably wider, including mixed-blood and other families from elsewhere in the Umpqua Valley area. It was identified as Umpqua, the aboriginal tribe of that area, rather than as Chinook. Similar organizations, possibly continuations of the 1922 organization, were formed up until 1936, and were also identified as Umpqua. The "Sutherlin Group of Indians," documented to exist in 1947, was not cited in any records other than those of the group itself, but identified itself as Umpqua. It was limited to the families which make up the present membership of the Tchinouk. Other meetings of this organization, or at least of these families, were probably held at least between 1945 and 1957. Activities ceased after individual members who applied for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund as Umpquas, Molallas or Calapuyas were rejected by the BIA as being of Chinook ancestry.

Indian Service reports from 1939 to 1944 identified a group of Umpqua Indians in the Tiller, Roseburg, Sutherlin and Days Creek area of Douglas County, corresponding to the Umpqua Valley populations that formed the Umpqua claims organization in 1922. This was part of an effort by the Indian Service, never substantially accomplished, to organize and provide increased services to the large non-reservation Indian population of southwestern Oregon, of which the Tchinouk families were a small part.

The Tchinouk Indians, the petitioning organization, was formed in 1974. It has been identified as a group of Chinooks only since that point. Identifications have been made by the Chinook Nation of Washington, the Oregon Commission on Indian Services, several local Indian organizations and groups in Oregon, the Native American Rights Fund and the American Indian Policy Review Commission. The group's petition for Federal acknowledgment has been supported by the Klamath Tribe, a terminated tribe (Kimbol 1978). The Oregon Commission on Indian Services (1984) has declined to support or oppose the petition.

83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

The Tchinouk Indians fail to meet criterion c of the regulations because they have not formed a community since earliest historical times and there were no known leaders or tribal political processes within the families ancestral to the current membership. Claims organizations in existence after 1922 were not tribal governments, were not continuously in existence, and were not the same in membership as the petitioning group.

No community or tribe of Indians ancestral to the present organization was found between the 1820's, when the ancestral lines were founded, and the formation of the settlement of related mixed-blood families near Sutherlin after 1880, and no leadership or other political processes could be identified. No leaders were discovered for this collection of families after 1880. The organization formed in 1922, others also in the 1920's, the one in 1935, the "Sutherlin Group of Indians" extant in 1947, and the petitioning organization, the Tchinouk Tribe, organized in 1974, were primarily concerned with claims or other limited matters. They did not exercise tribal political influence over their members. While there was a base of family and kinship relationships within

the membership, there is no evidence of an underlying informal leadership or other political process governing these families.

83.7(g) The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

The Western Oregon Termination Act of 1954 terminates "any of the tribes, bands, groups, or communities of Indians west of the Cascade Mountains of Oregon," including but not limited to Grand Ronde, Siletz, and a list of some 58 names of tribes and bands. Although the act does not specifically refer to the petitioner, this inclusive language would appear to forbid the Federal relationship as Indians to members of the petitioning group.

The Tchinouk families were part of a larger population of non-reservation Indians referred to in Indian Service reports from the 1930's on and in termination reports and hearing as "Southwestern Oregon Indians." These had generally received some limited services from the Federal Government up until that time. The act did not refer to this diverse group by this name. It provided instead a list of all the bands extant in Western Oregon in 1855, because of the mixed tribal background of the two Western Oregon reservations, Grand Ronde and Siletz, and the non-reservation Southwestern Oregon Indians, who were related to the reservation populations. Thus the inclusion of the names "Chinook" and "Upper Umpqua" on this list was not a reference to the petitioning group.

Many of the petitioning group's members were given termination services under Section 13 of the termination act, although few had received services previously and many, if not most, had not appeared on Indian Service rolls of the Southwestern Oregon Indians. Thus the Act was taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to apply to these individuals even though there was no recognized group at that time.

Thus the members of the Tchinouk Indians appear to be forbidden the Federal relationship by the Western Oregon Termination Act, even though no specifically named, both by the all-inclusive language of the act and the intent in its drafting, and the interpretation when it was implemented.

Introduction

The petitioner defines itself in terms of four families, Parazoo, Pelland, Pleuard and Pichette. These four, which are partially intermarried, are all French-Canadian and Indian in ancestry, deriving from marriages between early French-Canadian settlers who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and local Indians. Their tribal background, and how their descendants were identified, is a complex question, dealt with separately below. These families are part of a larger population of French-Indian mixture, originating in the French Prairie area in the northern part of the Willamette Valley, which became part of a collection of mixed-blood and other Indian families of varied tribal background in the Sutherlin area of Douglas County after the late 1870's. This report will follow and evaluate the location, amount of social ties and nature of identification as Indian of the families ancestral to the petitioner and of the larger collection of mixed-blood and Indian families with which they have sometimes been associated. The term "Sutherlin area families" will be used to refer to this wider category.

Early Historical Background

The Willamette Valley of northern Oregon was the earliest area of European settlement in Oregon. The first settlers were French-Canadians from the Hudson's Bay Company and their wives, usually Indians from the Columbia River area. The first community in the Willamette Valley was at French Prairie, near present-day Salem, beginning around 1830. By 1835 there was a sizeable population. Much of the early information, especially concerning family ancestry, is based on the records of the Catholic Mission of the Willamette, founded at St. Paul, on French Prairie, in 1839. After 1840, American settlers from the east increasingly came to settle, changing the previously almost totally French-Indian population. By 1844, attempts were made to form a provisional territorial government, with most of the French population voting against it. Among them were some of the ancestors of the members of the petitioner.

The ancestors of the group at French Prairie do not in any way appear to have been an Indian community or particularly distinct. Marriage to Indian women from various Oregon tribes was, on the basis of a review of the Catholic church records, quite common at this time (Warner and Munnick 1972). The name of the woman was often a first name of European origin, plus a tribal designation, e.g., Lisette Chinook, Margerite Clatsop. The two Indian ancestors of the group were not the only ones of Chinook background in the community. There also were Clatsop, Chehalis, Walla Walla, Wasco, etc., all tribes along or near the Columbia River. No Umpquas were listed. The exact meaning of the term "Chinook" as used in these records is not clear, i.e., whether it was meant to designate the Lower Chinook or Chinook Proper, or if it was the more blanket usage, to refer to any of the Chinookan peoples in the area. The way the term was used evidently varied considerably.

The term "Chinook" as used here will refer to any of a large number of bands and tribes living aboriginally on the Columbia River from its mouth to The Dalles in eastern Oregon. The descendants of these people are very frequently referred to in subsequent historical documents and Federal records as "Chinooks" without a more precise designation. The Chinooks, particularly those at the mouth of the river, were a vigorous fishing and trading people with a class-stratified society, and by virtue of their position came into early contact with the Europeans. Ethnographic classifications of them are complex, based on linguistic, geographic and cultural differences which did not always coincide. Hodge (1907-10) puts the tribes at the river's mouth, the Chinook Proper and Lower Chinook together with the Clatsop into one category, Lower Chinook. The balance are termed Upper Chinook, including Kathlamet, Clackamas and Wahkiakum. Murdock and O'Leary (1975) divide Upper Chinook, placing Kathlamet, Clackamas and Wahkiakum as Middle Chinook, and those above them as Upper Chinook. Most sources place the Kathlamet as culturally Lower Chinook although they were geographically and linguistically Upper Chinook.

The term "Umpqua" will be used here to refer to the Upper Umpqua, an Athabaskan speaking tribe residing in the Upper Umpqua River Valley and neighboring mountains in present-day Douglas County, Oregon. They are linguistically and culturally distinct from the Lower Umpqua or Kuitsh, a Kusan speaking tribe on the Oregon Coast, northwest of the Upper Umpqua. The Upper Umpqua consisted of four or five bands, one of which, the Cow Creek Umpqua, was somewhat distinct linguistically and usually distinguished in the ethnographic and historical record (Zucker et al. 1983). There were about 400 of the Upper Umpqua in the middle of the 19th century, but they may have had a much larger population earlier, before the effect of epidemics (Bakken 1973).

South of the earliest centers of white settlement in Oregon, the Umpqua Valley was visited by a Hudson's Bay expedition as early as 1826, and a trading post Fort Umpqua was established in the valley from 1836 to 1852 (Schlesser 1973, Beckham 1971a). A treaty was signed with the Upper Umpquas and with the Yoncalla Calapuyas, also resident in the Umpqua Valley, on November 29, 1854. A separate treaty had been made with the Cow Creek in October 1853. Most of the Upper Umpqua were removed to Grand Ronde Reservation in 1856, under the terms of the treaty (Ruby and Brown 1976; Zucker et al. 1983).

Although there was clearly an Indian "leaven" among the French-Canadians, many of whom were part Indian, derived from eastern tribes, French Prairie was not an Indian community. Many of the mixed-blood descendants were regarded as Indian, or as "half-breed," in various ways, by the Americans. Their actual orientations apparently varied. Many out of the large, mixed-blood population became part of the Grand Ronde and Siletz Indian Reservations, following their mother's kin rather than their father's (Applegate 1904, 1905; Grand Ronde 1885-1940).

The Grand Ronde Reservation, near the Pacific coast in Yamhill County, was established in 1856 and confirmed by an executive order of 1857. A large variety of Indians were placed upon it, based on several treaties, among them the January 22, 1855 treaty with the Molallas, Clackamas, etc. and 1853 and 1854 treaties with the Rogue River and Takelma Indians. Among the tribes settled there over the following several years were the Upper Umpqua, Molalla, Calapuya, and various Willamette Valley Indians such as the Clackamas and Yamhill. In practice, the population of the reservation was very diverse, with parts of other tribes being moved on and some voluntary movement to and from the neighboring Siletz Reservation. The summary of the 1889 reservation census listed 17 bands from Oregon, plus a few Iroquois (McClane 1889).

The Siletz Reservation originally was referred to as the "Coast Reservation" and when first established extended about 100 miles along the coast from Cape Lookout to the Tillamook River. It was established in 1855 but was greatly reduced by executive orders in 1865 and 1875. Its primary authority was the unratified 1855 "Coast Treaty," which embraced a large variety of coastal tribes from Cape Lookout almost to the California border. Among them were Coos, Lower Umpqua, Siuslaw, Tututni and Chetco. Also moved onto the reservation were the Tillamooks and a number of small, inland tribes from the Rogue River area.

Accounts of the formation of the Oregon territorial government refer to conflicts between the Anglo-American and the French, but not to an Indian community. Testimony developed during the allotment of the Grand Ronde Reservation indicates that many of the French-Indian descendants maintained relations with the Indian side of their families (Applegate 1904). This would not, in the case of this group's descendants, constitute the evolution as community from one of the Chinook tribes on the river down to the present group, or even to the French Prairie settlement. A number of Chinooks, often of French mixture, are represented in the Grand Ronde population, including one branch of the Pichette family.

Because of the devastating epidemic in 1830 among the Lower and Middle Chinooks, only a fraction of the aboriginal population existed by the time treaties were arranged in 1851 by Anson Dart with 10 Chinookan and other bands on the river and the coast. These treaties, informally referred to as the Tansey Point treaties, were never ratified. Lower Chinook people are represented currently on the unrecognized Shoalwater Bay and Quinault Reservations in Washington, and in the unrecognized Chinook Indian Tribe, Inc., another petitioner for acknowledgment. A variety of Chinookan peoples are

represented in the recognized Grand Ronde, Siletz and Warm Springs tribes of today. By all evidence, no contact was maintained by the petitioner's families and the Chinookans in Washington. Part of one major line, the Pichettes, was associated with Grand Ronde Reservation and some portions of this family were enrolled there (Grand Ronde Agency, 1885-1914).

An enrollment of the survivors and descendants of several Lower and Middle Chinook bands was made by Indian agent Charles McChesney in 1906, with a supplementary investigation and further enrollment in 1913. These were done in response to suits in the Court of Claims and the subsequent Congressional Act of August 24, 1912 authorizing payment for claims under the unratified treaties (McChesney 1913; Hauke 1914). McChesney submitted rolls for the Lower Band, Clatsop, Kathlamet, Wheelapa and Wahkiakum as well as for the non-Chinook Tillamook. No descendants of the Nuc que clah we muck were found. He took great care to distinguish between the bands covered by the act and other Chinookans not covered. No ancestors of the present petitioning group's members were on the resulting 1914 payment roll (McChesney 1913). James Pichette, uncle of Pros Pichette, ancestor of many Tchinouks, applied, listing himself, Pros, and many other Pichettes as Chinook (Pichette 1913). McChesney rejected their application, based on testimony of older Lower Chinooks (his major source of information), indicating that they were "upper Chinooks." A number of individuals of French-Indian ancestry from Grand Ronde Reservation were accepted.

Definition of Populations Studied

The "target" population discussed in this report is somewhat broader than the four family lines which define the present membership, because there were more families associated with them initially. The main focus of this report begins with the advent of the French-Indian populations in Douglas County, beginning in the late 1870's. The term "target" population is used because they were not part of a continuing community of Chinook Indians from any of the various Chinook bands extant in the Hudson's Bay period of the early 1800's. Nonetheless, there developed in the Douglas County area after about 1880 an collection of families living close to each other, with kin and other social ties between them. No record was found at all of this being identified as a community of Indians. Individuals from the community were frequently identified as Indian, as well as also being identified frequently as non-Indian.

The Parazoo (originally Pariseau) lines are the most prevalent in terms of current membership. They originate from Peter Pariseau, a French-Canadian mountain man who came to Oregon in 1831 and worked at Fort Umpqua in Douglas County before settling on French Prairie in 1839 (Munnick 1966). His wife was part Cree. The current lines come from his son Louis, born in 1854 at French Prairie, who married Ellen Larrison, the grand-daughter of a Frenchman and a woman described in church records as a "Chinook woman." By family oral history, this woman was a daughter of Chinook Chief Comcomley (McCormack 1982) (see later discussion). The Pichette line is descended from another French Prairie marriage, between Lisette Chinook and a Frenchman, Joseph Despard. Their daughter, Victoria Pichette, born 1843, is the ancestor of the Pichette line currently represented in the group. Other Douglas County families in the target population are derived from one or two other siblings of Victoria Pichette, who married McKays and Gervais', linking with those part-Indian families. By tradition (which could not be verified), Lisette Chinook was another daughter of Chief Comcomley. The Pleuard line results from the second marriage, to a Rondeau, of Ellen Larrison, the granddaughter of the unnamed Chinook woman. The Pelland line derives from the marriage of Onesime Pelland, a Frenchman who arrived in the area relatively late,

around 1880, and a daughter of Victoria Pichette. Two of Onesime's daughters married Parazoos, creating some of the key links between families. The early marriages between lines occurred in Marion or Lane Counties, before these families moved south to Douglas County.

Examination of the marriages before 1920, including those of siblings whose lines are now extinct or not represented in the group's membership, shows that while these main families were not tightly intermarried with each other, they were generally married to other French-Indian families of various backgrounds living in the Umpqua Valley in Douglas County. Among the kin links thus established are ones to Rondeau, Ghangrow, Gervais, Voinisin, Renville, and McKay. Important to the descriptions below are several Parazoo marriages to Indians on the Klamath Reservation. The Pichette line has considerable association with the Grand Ronde Reservation, with some individuals who were married to members and were resident there.

Sutherlin Area Indian Families, 1870's to 1920's

Beginning in the late 1870's, there was a movement of the "target population" families into Douglas County. A few French-Indian families from the Willamette Valley were already in the area by that time, and others moved in during this era (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880). A likely reason is the growth of the Anglo-American population in the north and the availability of lands for homesteads in the Umpqua Valley (Munnick 1966). The areas around Roseburg and Sutherlin were familiar to Pierre Pariseau from his days with the Hudson's Bay Company, and probably to the senior members of the other families as well. The area is quite mountainous and forested, with many streams. The valleys and some interior mountain areas are suited for ranching and farming.

The ancestral families to the group apparently moved into Douglas County in the late 1870's and early 1880's. None are shown in Douglas County on the 1870 Federal Census. The 1880 census shows Roc and Victoria Pichette, Roselle and Onesime Pelland, Issac "Jarvis" (Gervais), Thomas Rondeau and many McKays, as well as "Meshe"(Mace) and Nancy Tipton. No Parazoos were shown. The families became concentrated in and near the town of Sutherlin and neighboring Oakland, in the Umpqua River Valley, north of Roseburg. The larger portion was east of Sutherlin about ten miles, in the Nonpareil area. Others settled about five to ten miles west of Sutherlin, near the Umpqua River and actually within or nearly within the boundaries of temporary Umpqua Reservation established on the Umpqua River in 1853. The Pichettes, by oral tradition, first came to Douglas County in 1877 (French Settlers Collection n.d.). The Parazoos were at Coburg in the 1870's, in Lane County, south of French Prairie and north of Douglas County (Tchinouk Tribe 1977). Several grandchildren of Ellen Larrison reported that she told a story of being brought to a "temporary Indian camp" at Coburg and that she and "her band" had spent time in the area around Coburg (Tchinouk Tribe 1977). It is unclear what this refers to or if it is other than a reference to the 1870's, when several of Larrison's children were born at Coburg. This is well past the period of collection of Indians for removal to the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations, although there was some early allotment on Grand Ronde in this era.

In the Nonpareil area settled Onesime and Zephier Pelland, brothers who married respectively Emma Pichette and Rosalie Plouf. The latter was the granddaughter of Louise Tchinouk, an Indian woman. The brothers homesteaded at Nonpareil on Banks Creek and Calapuya Creek respectively, a few miles apart, probably in the 1880's. The marriages occurred in the early 1880's. Rosalie Plouf Pelland received a public domain

allotment as an Indian in 1895, on a plot neighboring her husband's homestead (Siletz n.d.). Living nearby on Banks Creek was David Vincent (Voinson) of French and Indian background and Caroline Voinson, a Shasta who had been brought to French Prairie as a slave in the 1850's. Caroline received a Public Domain allotment in 1895. Also reported living at Nonpareil and associated with the families there was "old Indian Jake" who may have worked for Zebe Pelland. A cemetery on the Zebe Pelland ranch contained 40 to 50 graves, almost all local families of part-Indian ancestry, i.e., besides many Pellands, there were "Gingra" (Ghangrow), McKay, Tipton, Dumont, and Rondeau, as well as some non-Indians and mixed-bloods from elsewhere (Pelland 1973).

Allotted in a nearby area was Frank Chintelle and his wife. Chintelle was identified as Chinook when he received a Public Domain allotment in that area in 1895 (Siletz n.d.). His wife was identified as Umpqua. The area, Long Valley, was known as "the reservation" locally because of the many French-Indian families there (Pelland 1973). Mace Tipton, a well known local figure, was allotted and lived in this area. Tipton is sometimes referred to as the "chief of the Umpquas" (Weekly News-Review 1922; Bakken 1973), an apparently honorary title accorded by the whites. His wife Nancy is identified as Molalla in some sources. A pioneer story, recorded in the 1930's, states that the couple were both Klamath, or at least from Klamath country and as children were bought by an early pioneer who raised them in Douglas County (University of Oregon n.d.).

No specific Parazoo lands in this vicinity were identified, although the census and records of marriages, etc. indicate that the family or families came to the Sutherlin area in the 1880's also (Douglas County Clerk 1852-1953, French Settler's Collection n.d.). Charles Parazoo, brother of Louis and thus uncle to the Parazoos in the Tchinouk lines, was at Peel, on the Little River, near Glide, about five to 10 miles south of the Pellands.

Charles Parazoo provides a link to several other associated families. He was married to Nellie Palouse, who through different siblings and half siblings was linked to various French-Indian families in the area including Mace Tipton (married to Nellie's sister), Frank Chintelle, and several Dumonts and Parazoos (outside the direct Parazoo line ancestral to the Tchinouks) (Palouse 1917). Similarly, Caroline Voinson provides links to several other French-Indian or part Indian families who appear to be linked to the Pelland and Parazoo families. Both she and Rosalie Pelland were previously married into the McKays, a part Indian family allotted west of Sutherlin. Rosalie raised both the McKay children and also children of a daughter's marriage to a Ghangrow. The Ghangrows were another French-Indian family, resident somewhere in the immediate area of the others. Mack Ghangrow, who married Rosalie's daughter, was identified on one list as one-half Chinook. West of Sutherlin lived the Pichettes and some of the McKays. The Pichette family, that of Victoria Despard Pichette and Roc Pichette, evidently came initially to Douglas County in 1877. Roc homesteaded near Tyee west of Sutherlin, on the Umpqua River. According to oral history accounts, they left and went to Grand Ronde Reservation in the 1870's, didn't like it and, after some conflicts with the law, returned to Douglas County (French Settler's Collection n.d.). They may have attempted to gain an allotment at Grand Ronde in an early round of allotments there around 1872, during which many mixed-bloods came on or tried to come on that reservation (Applegate 1904).

Victoria Pichette received a Public Domain allotment in 1895 on the Umpqua River west of Sutherlin (Siletz Agency n.d.). It was located almost adjacent to her husband's homestead and near the homestead of Jules Pichette, Roc's brother. Several miles away, downriver, were Public Domain allotments of Antoine and May McKay (Makah). Antoine was Victoria's brother-in-law. Links to the Nonpareil families are found in one

daughter's marriage to Onesime Pelland and also some kin links to the McKays. There are also kin links to the Rondeau family from the Tiller area. One branch of the Pichette family evidently maintained ties with Grand Ronde, since several of the Pichette children, although resident in Douglas County, married Indians from Grand Ronde (1885-1914).

There was one area of full-blood Indian settlement immediately north of Nonpareil, but there evidently were no social ties with the mixed-blood families in the area. This is significant in view of the later self-identification of the Sutherlin area Indian families as Umpqua, in the 1920's. The Indian settlement was made up of Yoncalla Calapuya families, aboriginally resident of the area around Drain and in Scotts Valley, about 10-15 miles north of Nonpareil. According to testimony in 1904 (Applegate), a number of the families from this area drifted back from Grand Ronde, unsatisfied with the conditions there, and worked for local white farmers and acquired homesteads. The principal family name was Fearn, and about seven Public Domain allotments were made there in 1895. This group apparently corresponds with the Calapuya (Yoncalla Calapuya) which signed the 1853 treaty along with the Upper Umpqua (Mackey 1974).

A branch of the Parazoo families developed beginning around 1900 at the Klamath Indian Reservation. This reservation, whose main populations are Klamath and Modoc, was founded in 1864. It is about 150 miles away from Sutherlin, on the other side of the Cascade Mountains. By oral history among the Parazoos and some Klamaths cited in the Tchinouk petition, some of the Parazoos came to Klamath before the turn of the century, supposedly in the 1870's. One story is that they were brought in as interpreters, another is that they were part of a large number of "coast Indians" that came over to work. No record of such employment in that period with the Klamath Agency was found.

Two of the sons of Louis Pariseau married Klamath women after the turn of the 20th century. The oral history date of 1870 appears incorrect, since the two men, Joseph and Louis Parazoo, were born in the 1870's. Their uncle Paul Parazoo also married a Klamath allottee. Joseph worked for the Klamath Agency 1912 to 1914 as a timber guard. Other stories indicate they may have worked as horse traders and loggers. Census and other documentary materials as early as 1900 indicate they shifted residence back and forth between Klamath and Sutherlin area quite frequently between 1900 and 1925. Both the 1900 and 1910 Federal censuses place them west of the Cascades.

The large group of descendants of these men in the current group's membership are descendants of Joseph and his Klamath wife. Louis had only one child, who died without descendants. Both men had other marriages, to French-Indian women from the Sutherlin area, Joseph to one of the Pellands. The Klamath children of these men received allotments on that reservation. Further, many of the descendants of Joseph, from both wives, continued to reside in the Klamath area and married Klamath or other reservation Indians. Although a social distinction was apparently made of those Parazoos who weren't descendants of the reservation Indians, i.e., those of the non-Klamath wives, from these who were they were socially part of the Indian rather than the non-Indian community.

The kinship lines and geographical locations of the target population families, for the period of 1880 to 1920, indicate that there developed quite a concentration of them and that they had other social ties between them. It does not appear, however, that the Nonpareil area was exclusively occupied by them. Further, an examination of a limited number of marriage records for the period doesn't indicate that they were strongly distinct socially (Douglas County 1852-1953). They were to some degree identified locally as Indian. Being French and Catholic in a largely American and

Protestant population was probably also a factor contributing to the marriage and residence patterns. There is no strong indication of close association or contact between these families before their settlement in Douglas County. Again, this is a matter of degree, since many of the older generation, i.e., the French ancestors, lived near each other on French Prairie or were in contact through work for the Hudson's Bay Company. There is no record of identification of an Indian group or area at Sutherlin corresponding to these families. The Indian background of these families was varied, although including a number of lines with some kind of Chinook background.

How culturally Indian these families might have been is unclear. Some of the older women such as Nellie Palouse and Caroline Voinsin were apparently full-bloods, raised in part in tribal society, but others such as Victoria Pichette and Rosalie Pelland, were children or grandchildren of such.

Relationship with the Federal Government

The relationship of these families with the Indian Service has been minimal but not totally absent. Characteristic of Western Oregon has been that much of the Indian population nominally assigned to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations either did not move on reservation, moved off during the latter 19th century, or circulated on and off as conditions indicated. Thus the agent at Grand Ronde in 1887 noted that the population was 399 but that several hundred others were outside who "belonged" and that the reservation Indians wanted them included in the forthcoming allotments (McClane 1887).

In one case, a trio of related tribes from the Oregon Coast, the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw, left the Siletz Reservation and returned more or less en masse to their home territory. Compounding this was the large number of mixed-bloods deriving from the pre-territorial period, some related to the tribes assigned to Grand Ronde and Siletz and some not. Some moved onto these reservations at the time of the treaties, some onto Grand Ronde around 1872 during an early allotment effort, and some when allotments were made of most of Grand Ronde around 1889 (McClane 1889, Applegate 1904).

Some provision was made for the off-reservation populations by giving them allotments on the public domain under the "fourth section" of the General Allotment Act of 1887. This led to the term "Public Domain" and "Fourth Section Allottees" for these people. A total of 273 Public Domain allotments were made in southern and southwestern Oregon, as well as 18 Indian homesteads. Ninety-nine of the allotments were later cancelled (Salem Indian School 1921). The applications were made in 1892 and the list was approved in 1895 (Siletz Agency n.d.).

The largest number of the Southwestern Oregon allotments was made in the coastal area, for the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw and some Klamath and Tututni on the Rogue River and on the coast near the river (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1944). Two clusters of allotments were made in the Umpqua Valley, the ones noted for the Yoncalla Calapuya, and those made to the Sutherlin area Indian families. Only one direct ancestor of the current membership, Victoria Pichette, received a Public Domain allotment, but one was also received by Rosalie Plouf Pelland, a member of the families ancestral to the current membership. These allotments, and allotments to other Sutherlin area families, were made in the vicinity of lands homesteaded by non-Indian spouses. As far as could be determined, no Indian homesteads were granted in the area. The part-Klamath

children of the Parazoos who married into Klamath Reservation received allotments on that reservation.

The reports at the time of these allotments make little commentary on the character of the populations allotted or on the rationale for allotments in this particular region. Specific agency correspondence from the period was not examined. Public Domain allottees in southern Oregon included both full-bloods and mixed-bloods. The general purpose of allotments has been to "civilize" and detribalize, although in practice allotment was used in some areas to provide land for reservationless Indians because the Indian Service was unable to obtain reservations for them.

Later reports, from the 1930's and 1940's, indicated that there was very little agency contact with the Public Domain allottees, other than dealings having to do with the lands and occasionally the provision of schooling at boarding schools such as Chemawa, at Salem Oregon (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1942b, 1944). This seems an entirely accurate statement as far as this group's population is concerned. Little agency record was found of these families, outside of land interests, between 1900 and 1940, other than schooling for a few of the individuals from the Klamath area, who seem to have benefited by their association with that reservation even though not Klamath Tribe members.

A partial exception to this policy occurred during the existence of the Roseburg Agency, established at Roseburg in Douglas County, just south of Sutherlin. This agency was established in 1910 and abolished in 1918. It was charged with jurisdiction over the non-reservation Indians in Oregon and northern California (maintaining two field offices in California). The total number of these nonreservation Indians was estimated at 8000, with 3000 in Oregon. The Southwestern Oregon Indians were only a small part of these (Sells 1917, Roseburg Agency, 1910-17). Some additional effort was made during this agency's tenure to provide additional allotments for off-reservation Indians but efforts were also made to fee patent and/or sell the lands of Indians deemed competent, and to straighten out the off-reservation land situation in general. Jurisdiction for southwestern Oregon was transferred to the Siletz Agency when the Roseburg Agency was abolished.

The earliest rolls of the Public Domain Indians that were found were those of the Roseburg Agency. After jurisdiction was transferred to Siletz and later to the combined Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency, separate rolls of "Fourth Section Allottees" were kept. These rolls were not limited to the actual allotment holders. Some attempt was apparently made to include family members and perhaps others. According to a report in 1939 (Woolridge et al.), no attempt was made to update this roll after 1925.

An examination of some of the rolls of the agency from 1925 to 1937 (the last before an updating was done) shows only one individual from the immediate families of the current Tchinouk membership and only a few from some of the associated Sutherlin area families. Shown is Louis Pelland, grandson of Victoria Pichette and brother of Albert Pelland, a leader in the 1930's. Also shown were Charles Parazoo, Sr., uncle of many in the group, Jasper Palouse, and Zella Parazoo, one of the wives of Louis Parazoo. Even when the roll was updated in 1940, as a result of a survey made in 1939 as part of efforts to organize and bring the Public Domain Indians into the service population, many of the Tchinouk families were not included. The 1940 Public Domain roll (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency) included some of the Pichettes and two of the Parazoos, Henry and Emma, and their children. No Pleuards were shown, nor Pellands other than Louis, nor were most of the Parazoos on the roll. None of the Parazoos on the Klamath Reservation were shown on this roll.

History of Organizations, 1922 to 1940

In 1922, an organization called the Consolidated Tribes of Western Oregon was formed which embraced the Sutherlin area Indians and also families identified as Indian from elsewhere in the Umpqua Valley, north and especially south of Sutherlin. It does not appear to have had functions outside of organizing the diverse group of Indians and the pursuit of certain treaty claims. It was to some extent the precursor of the present-day Tchinouk organization, but the relation of it to several later organizations and committees is not entirely clear and there were a number of breaks in activity.

The effort was part of a larger movement in Oregon to pursue treaty claims. The Coos et al. were probably the first, meeting in 1916 to organize a committee to pursue their claim. There were committees at Grand Ronde and Siletz also, in the 1920's (Committee Representing the Umpqua, etc. 1922).

The stated purpose was to devise ways and means of receiving the money for and paying the expenses of an effort to procure the settlement of their rights under the "Treaty of Empire" and any other business. The organization described itself as a means for "consolidation of all Indians (sic) tribes and bands living within the boundary" of the "Empire Treaty." Separate lists and committees for each tribe and band were to be kept (Consolidated Tribes of Western Oregon 1922). A newspaper account of the meeting provides a somewhat different definition of the group, narrower and apparently closer to the actual orientation. The Weekly News-Review (1922) of Roseburg reported that 50 Indians representing the "Molalla, Siletz, Grand Ronde, Calapooia and Coos branches of the Umpqua tribe" had met. The statement, apparently gotten from the Indians, was that the Umpqua tribe included all of the others. Aside from the Calapooia, some of whom, in the Umpqua Valley, had occasionally been classified with the Umpqua, none of the other tribes listed were part of or particularly related to the Umpqua. Grand Ronde is not a tribal name, but only that of a reservation. The "Treaty of Empire" described in the minutes appears to refer to the unratified "Coast Treaty" of 1855. There was not an 1847 treaty which fits the boundaries described by the group. In any event, the reports of subsequent meetings and actions indicate that the Umpqua identity of the organization was paramount, fitting the pre-treaty inhabitants of the district from which all of the participants were drawn. Later in the year, the committee representing the group referred to itself as "Committee representing the Umpqua and other tribes of Indians of Southern Oregon (1922)."

The callers of the meeting were George Rapp, a non-Indian, Joe Brown, and Mace Tipton. The newspaper account referred to Mace Tipton as the "recognized chief of the Umpquas." Representatives were elected from three districts, Oakland-Sutherlin, Tiller (south of Sutherlin) and Cottage Grove-Eugene (north of Sutherlin). Those nominated from Sutherlin were all from the local group of families discussed earlier, i.e., Pros Pichette, Mac Ghangrow, Henry Parazoo and David McKay. Pichette was elected the delegate. Other French-Indian individuals were elected from the other districts, Isadore Rondeau from Tiller and Ed Dompier from Cottage Grove. The overall committee consisted of Rondeau as president, Dompier as secretary, Pichette, Mace Tipton and Joe Brown. Rapp apparently continued to be a major figure in this effort.

Some activity had evidently taken place earlier, as the meeting minutes reported that the committee had already been in communication with two attorneys in Portland, Seneca Fouts and E. B. Herman, an attorney in Washington, D.C., and Senator McNary of Oregon, with regard to introduction of a bill (Consolidated Tribes of Western Oregon 1922, Committee Representing the Umpqua 1922). Grand Ronde evidently had a contract

with these lawyers already. The proposed bill in 1922 included the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw, Cow Creek, Chinook, Alsea, Rogue River, Molalla and several other coastal and interior tribes (Fouts 1922). Upper Umpqua was not specifically mentioned.

Evidence of earlier efforts is a 1919 letter from Charles Parazoo to Rapp, providing the names of two "Umpquas" who had never received allotments, who he recommended be included among the names "for payment." Rapp apparently continued to be a major figure in the efforts after 1922.

In 1925, a "Committee Promoting Indian Convention (sic) for the Indians" negotiated with the Roseburg Chamber of Commerce to hold an Indian convention and rodeo in Roseburg (Roseburg Chamber of Commerce 1925). It is unclear if this was actually held. The Indian signers appeared to be similar to the 1922 Umpqua committee, i.e., Isadore Rondeau and Ed Dompier, from the Tiller area, and Pros Pichette and "Masch Palouse-Tipton," from the Sutherlin-Nonpareil area.

In 1926, a group calling itself the "Umpqua Tribe" requested that it be put in a separate claims bill from the others of Western Oregon, expressing dissatisfaction with committees, lawyers, etc. (Crispen 1926). The letter, written by an ancestor of the current leader of the Cow Creek Umpqua, refers to a "pow-wow" held at Tiller, southeast of Roseburg and Sutherlin, in Douglas County. It could not be determined whether this was a separate group from that formed in 1922, or only a part of it, nor whether any of the Sutherlin area Indian families participated in it. It appears to correspond with a group known in the 1970's as the Upper Umpquas and known since 1977 as the Cow Creek Umpquas. This consists of families from the area south of Sutherlin, such as Canyonville and Tiller, and includes Rondeaus, Dumonts and others, including part of the non-Chinook, Charles Parazoo, branch of the Parazoo family.

Claims bills were introduced into Congress several times between 1922 and 1935, when a bill was finally passed. The Interior Department generally opposed these (Burke 1928). The Coos, et al., obtained separate legislation in 1929 (45 Stat. 1256). An act of August 26, 1935 (49 Stat. 801) conferred jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear claims arising from ratified and unratified treaties concerning the Western Oregon Indians. Two suits resulted from that act, the "Rogue River, et al." and the "Alsea Band of Tillamooks, et al." (Court of Claims Dockets 45231 and 45230, respectively). The Rogue River case included as parties the Upper Umpquas, Cow Creek Umpquas, Umpqua Valley Calapuya, and Molalla, along with a large variety of Rogue River, interior and Willamette Valley tribes. The Alsea Tillamook case included the Chinook as a party, and generally focused on the coastal tribes. It was concerned especially with the losses from the failure to ratify the Coast Treaty. The division of claims and the tribal representation was complex, with Grand Ronde and Siletz represented in both suits (Smith 1976).

In 1935, with the passage of the act authorizing the suits, authorization to hire attorneys was required. An October 13, 1935 meeting of the "General Council of the Indians residing or entitled to reside on Umpqua and Calapoya (sic) in the State of Oregon . . .", was held at Little River (in the Glide-Nonpareil area). This appointed delegates for the Indians residing at Sutherlin and Little River or "entitled to reside at Umpqua and Callappoia (sic)," to represent them at a meeting to follow the next week of all the tribes in the suit. Elected were Jasper Palouse, Joseph Albert Pelland, Joseph Ghangrow, Pauline Dumont and Helen Estabrook. The first three are clearly from the Sutherlin group described earlier. The last two are from other French-Indian families in the Umpqua Valley. Albert Pelland is a member of the current Tchinouk group and is often cited as a leader of the group after this point. The council proceedings listed a

Louis "Ploueand" as chairman of the council and Maggie Ghangrow as secretary. Louis Ploueand could not be clearly identified, but is possibly Louis Pelland.

These meetings, and probably some back into the 1920's, are described as a combination of claims meeting and social gathering of relatives. That is, after the meeting, a family gathering was held, with the children included. These are consistently described as including the Klamath area families, especially Claude Parazoo, father of the current chairman of the Tchinouk. One large meeting at Wolf Creek was described as occurring in the late 1940's, with most of the families attending. Another person said, "it was nice visiting, there was not that much business" (F.D.). There is some oral history of such meetings and family gatherings at the Grange Hall in Fair Oaks (near Sutherlin), perhaps referring to the 1920's meeting described above.

These family gatherings appear to be part of a regular practice of family gatherings and reunions occurring since at least the 1920's. These occurred at locations such as Wolf Creek, Little River and Nonpareil, and sometimes lasted several weeks (F.D.). They are described as having occurred less frequently after the 1950's and are not a current practice. Bergman (1979) describes annual gatherings in the mountains at Huckleberry Gap since the 1890's. Activities consisted of hunting, gathering and "Indian dances." These were attended by various mixed-blood families from Douglas County, not limited to the Tchinouk group, by the Klamath area families, and by non-Indians and perhaps by full-blood Indians as well.

Federal Status During the Collier Era, 1933-45

The era of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from 1933 to 1945, brought a considerable reversal of policy toward the Public Domain Indians of Southwestern Oregon. (The term "Southern" or "Southwestern Oregon Indians" was generally used in this era). Questions as to jurisdiction and increased services for these families were answered in the affirmative by the Indian Office in Washington, the Public Domain roll was updated and they were considered for organization under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The term "Southwestern Oregon Indians" encompassed the entire spectrum of off-reservation Indians, but the largest amount of attention and services went to the Indians on the coast, particularly the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw group. The presence of this group seems to have substantially shaped the positive policies of this area toward Southwestern Oregon Indians and they received the greatest degree of recognition and increase in services. The Grand Ronde-Siletz superintendent in 1934 stated "the Fourth Section Indians are mainly the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians . . ." (Ryan 1934a).

Out of 63 public domain allotments still in the trust in 1940, three-fourths were among the Coos et al. or the other coastal populations (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1942a). Of 418 families reported in 1944, 233 were among the coastal Indians. The agency report listed these as having the most cultural retention and the highest blood degree (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1944).

In 1932, the Central Office of the Indian Service wrote to the superintendent of the Salem Indian School, stating that the off-reservation Indians might have rights which should be recognized, and requested a full report on them (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1944). In 1934, a meeting was held in Oregon as part of a series held around the country to explain the proposed Indian Reorganization Act and to gain support and advice. Commissioner Collier replied positively to the Salem superintendent's inquiry whether

the Southwestern Oregon Indians should be included. Collier (1934) stated that self-government might be feasible for them or else the creation of a unit which might have self-government should be considered. The superintendent contacted George Wasson of the Coos group, and the delegates attending the conference were from the Coos group (Ryan 1934b).

In 1939, a field study was made by the Indian Service of the Southwestern Oregon Indians and several further determinations were made of their status. Siletz Superintendent Earl Woolridge (1939) had requested land so that a reservation could be created and the Indians could be incorporated and organized under the IRA. Woolridge noted that "most are of more than one-half Indian blood." The study resulted from his request and was to consider whether they had tribal status, or could organize as Indians of half-blood under the IRA, what rights the nonallottees had, and an examination of land, family and the complete social and economic picture (Herrick 1939).

The field study was done by a committee consisting principally of Superintendent Woolridge, Henry Roe Cloud from the Washington Office and George LaVatta, field agent in Portland for the "organization" division of the Indian Service. They made the determination that the off-reservation Indians did have tribal status. They also recommended that the Public Domain roll be updated. This was done in the next year or two by Henry Roe Cloud, who did family surveys. The Woolridge committee made most of its field visits along the coast, making only one inland visit, to Eugene (Woolridge et al. 1939).

Two hundred and thirty-two family surveys were done and 501 individuals were added to the 332 already on the Public Domain Roll, which had reportedly not been corrected since 1925. The updating was on the basis of "family relationship," evidently meaning family relationship to those already on the roll or holding public domain land interests (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1942). Even this expansion did not include the larger portion of the Sutherlin Indians or the Tchinouk group's families.

In 1940, based apparently on older figures, 17 families out of a total of 213 Public Domain Indian families, were reported in the Umpqua Valley towns of Douglas County, 13 of them in Sutherlin and Glide (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1942). Using more up-to-date figures in 1944, 53 Umpqua families out of a total of 418 Public Domain families were listed in the same area (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1944).

A 1942 "Southern Oregon Program" reported on and was based on the results of this work. It reported that there were six centers of settlement and recommended that each should be organized separately. One of the six was the "Umpqua," reported as some 20 families around "Tiller, Days Creek, Roseburg and Sutherlin." It identified these families as descendants of the Umpqua tribe. No list was provided, but the Ghangrow family was mentioned. The designation of an Umpqua group lumped together the Sutherlin area Indians with those to the south of them who are currently identified as the Cow Creeks, perhaps following the lines of the claims organizations of the 1920's and 1930's. The report stated that "Outside of an occasional request for medical attention and education facilities, these families have made no special demands on this agency . . ." The determination was that little in the way of services would be required by them. Only a paragraph was devoted to the "Umpqua" (Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency 1942).

The 1942 report indicated that the major policy questions concerning organizing the Southwestern Oregon Indians were still unresolved, i.e., it asked that a final determination should be made as to their eligibility for services and inquired whether and how they

should be organized. The Public Domain roll was noted as still quite incomplete and the inquiry made as to whether it should be completed.

The 1944 Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency report on its 10 year plan is perhaps the most positive in its view of the Southwestern Oregon Indians. It recommended that community centers be built at each of the different locations, including the Roseburg area. It made the blanket assertion that group residence and tribal functioning at each of the six Southwestern Oregon population centers had never been discontinued.

None of the Southwestern Oregon Indians were organized as an Indian government under the Indian Reorganization Act, although the determination was made in 1946 that they were subject to the provision of the Act (Portland Area Office 1950). The closest they came to this was the organization of a business committee at Coos Bay, probably to receive rehabilitation fund monies, and the taking into trust of six acres at Empire (now part of Coos Bay) for the Coos et al. In 1940, a community center was built for the group there.

With World War II and the decline in Collier's policies, nothing further was done. By 1949, the termination movement had begun and a more negative view of Oregon Indians had come to the fore. It should be noted that negative comments had been previously made by John Holst of the Education Division of the Indian Service in 1941 (Portland Area Office 1954) and, apparently, by Willard Beatty, also of the Education Division, in 1939. Both men apparently felt that the Indians were too acculturated and that services should not be extended. (The actual reports of these men were not located).

Claims Cases and Organization, 1947-57

The Alsea Tillamook case was decided in 1945 and the Rogue River case in February 1946. Affirmation by the Supreme Court in November 1946 brought a wave of publicity and Indian meetings. The basic court decision left many steps to go, however, with the judgment on the amounts to be awarded not being made until 1950, and the Western Oregon Judgment Act (68 Stat. 878) which authorized preparation of judgment rolls not being passed until August 30, 1954. Funds were only awarded finally to the Molalla or Molel tribe, the Upper Umpqua and the Calapuyas of the Umpqua Valley in the Rogue River case. In the Alsea decision, the Tututni, Tillamook, Coquille and Chetco tribes were awarded funds. The Coos et al. had lost their separate case in 1938 (Portland Area Office 1954). Under the 1954 Act, separate rolls were to be made of each of the six tribes named above.

Siletz Superintendent Wooldridge noted in 1947 the rash of meetings being held. He raised again the question of the need for better organization, i.e., tribal government, of the off-reservation groups and recommended Bureau assistance for these. He also requested funds to take a census and update the roll (Wooldridge 1947b).

In 1947, a meeting of the "Sutherlin group of Indians" was held as a result of the issuance of the decision in the Rogue River claims case. The meeting was one of a number of meetings evidently self-called by Indian groups in Western Oregon as a result of a publication of news of the court decision (Wooldridge 1947a). The minutes for the February 2 meeting noted that a meeting of "All of the Indians of Southwestern Oregon" had been held at Empire, Oregon on January 5, and delegates had been elected for later meetings. The February 2 Sutherlin group meeting appears to have been an action to have themselves included in these later meetings. The next meeting was to be at

Salem on February 14. A copy of the February 2 proceedings was sent to George Wasson, indicating he was still playing an influential role (Sutherlin Group of Indians 1947). The composition of the delegates elected fits the current definition of the Tchinouk group. Goldie Parazoo (now McCormack) was elected president, Louella Pleuard, secretary, and Albert Pellard (who had been in the 1930's meetings), Dewey Parazoo and Marshall Parazoo as delegates.

The 1947 meeting was the only documentation of organizational activities after 1936 and does not appear to be formally connected with the earlier committee. The 1947 "Sutherlin Group of Indians" is narrower than the 1935-6 committee, although both appear as units linked to wider organizational efforts in Oregon. There are no documentary records of an organization after 1947. There is considerable oral history of continuing efforts and meetings, at least in the latter 1930's, in connection with the claims case. Individuals said, they "wrote and wrote" i.e., letters, and took down stories from the older members. Others described it as "working on their Indian money" (F.D.). As far as could be determined, the group throughout these years identified itself only as Umpqua. The number and dates of meetings, and the frequency of them, could not be accurately determined.

Activities during the war years are unclear, but meetings of one kind or another are described or indicated indirectly by various documents as occurring between 1945 and 1957, when members were rejected for payment under the Western Oregon Judgment Fund (Tchinouk Tribal Office 1977b). Among those indicated as active leaders in holding these meetings were Goldie McCormack and Louella Pleuard, described as the most influential and actively involved. Also involved were Claude Parazoo, Fred Parazoo, and Dewey Parazoo. Families from both sides of the Cascades were active, although most meetings appear to have been in Douglas County or nearby. The earlier meetings were reported as dealing with the claims, e.g., "word came we had to prove we were Indian, and get on a roll. The government was going to distribute some money" (F.D.). Presumably as a result of these efforts, numerous genealogies with documentation were submitted to the BIA in 1949, in advance of the application process for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund, which did not begin until 1955 (Portland Area Office 1957).

Later meetings, widely remembered, had to do with termination and signing up for termination services. Several of these, evidently chaired by Goldie McCormack, were in 1955, when many signed up for schooling and relocation. These were attended by Leonard Allen (1979), field agent for the BIA, and were not limited to members of the Tchinouk group but included other Southwestern Oregon Indians from the area.

The Western Oregon Judgment Act was passed August 30, 1954, two and a half weeks after the Western Oregon Termination Act. Activities dictated by the two inevitably became somewhat confused in people's minds. Applications for the fund were submitted by most of the group's members between the date of the act and August 30, 1955, when applications closed. Most individuals applied as either Molalla or Umpqua, with some applying as Calapuya. Rejection letters declaring them to be of Chinook descent were sent in 1957.

Between 1957, when the rejection notices were sent informing group members that they were not eligible for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund, and 1974, when the current organization was begun, there was no functioning organization (F.D., Parazoo 1982). According to Karleen Parazoo, the Klamath Falls area families continued some efforts, led by her father and then by herself (F.D., Parazoo 1982). Members of the families now begin to identify strongly as Chinook, after the rejection notices were received stating that they were of Chinook ancestry. Various individuals from the Tchinouk

families wrote to the BIA and to Congress concerning the Chinook claim in Docket 234 before the Indian Claims Commission. In this interval they had some contact with the organization in Washington State which was pursuing that claim, the Chinook Nation.

Termination

The Western Oregon Termination Act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 724) provided for the termination of Federal services to Western Oregon Indians based on their status as Indians, and termination of Federal trust status of the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations and individual trust lands. Klamath Reservation was terminated by another act of the same date (68 Stat. 718). These were part of a large number of termination acts enacted or proposed in this era.

The termination act for Western Oregon presented a number of complicated problems with regard to the status of the Southwestern Oregon Indians because they were viewed as related to and part of the bands resident on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations, i.e., not fully separable. Cited were both the extreme intermingling of the different bands on the reservations and that "there are some 213 Indian families in Southwestern Oregon . . . descendants of those Indians who either did not move (to Grand Ronde or Siletz) or returned to their former residences subsequently . . ." (Foster 1955). Tribal "blood groups" were noted as having members on one or both reservations and scattered up and down the coast or elsewhere in Washington.

Compounding the administrative situation, but reflecting the situation of the Western Oregon Indians, is the language of the 1954 act. Section 2(a) of the act defines tribe for the purposes of the act as: "any of the tribes, bands, groups, or communities of Indians located west of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon, including the following: Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians . . ." This was followed by a list of some 58 names of tribes and bands. The list included Chinook, Clatskanie, Upper Umpqua, and Cow Creek. The list, in context, refers to the sum of the bands that were extant in that area of Oregon at the time of the treaties, and not to separate groups existing at the time of the legislation. Because of the diversity of tribal background, and the intermingling noted above, this device was apparently used to include all of the Indians, Public Domain or not. No legislative history specifically explaining the reason for the list was found. The 1954 Portland Area Office termination report, which includes a draft of the bill, does not explain it. The text of the report refers only to the Southwestern Oregon Indians or to some of the localized populations within it, such as the "Empire" group, at Coos Bay. The list in the act corresponds exactly to the tribes and bands appearing on a map in the report, which is based on a map prepared by anthropologist John Harrington for the Rogue River case, with the addition, however, of the name "Chinook." This may have been intended to apply to the Chinook appearing on the Grand Ronde rolls. Since Lower Chinook territory was on the Washington side of the Columbia River, they did not appear on the Oregon map in the report.

The termination act called for the BIA to make a determination which tribes would require a final roll to be made. Such a roll was made only for the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations on the grounds that there was no tribal trust property for the others (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1957). The termination reports preceding the act, and testimony at the hearings, had referred to three "group communities," Grand Ronde, Siletz and Empire" (i.e., the Coos, et al., on the coast). The testimony indicated a roll was being considered for the Empire group but none was made (U.S. Senate 1954). The

six acres of trust property at Empire for the Coos et al. group was transferred to the city of Empire for the benefit of the group. Resolutions supporting termination had been passed in 1949 and 1951 by Grand Ronde and Siletz (Portland Agency Office 1954). No evidence was found that the Southwestern Oregon Indians were consulted on the termination question, particularly not those in Douglas County.

The Western Oregon Termination Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to under-take "a special program of education and training, designed to help the members of the tribe to earn a livelihood, conduct their own affairs, and assume their responsibilities as citizens . . ." (68 Stat. 727, Section 13c). These services were carried out by the Bureau's Branch of Relocation, which was conducting the Relocation and Vocational Training Program for reservation Indians around the country. The latter program was not limited to terminated or about to be terminated Indians. Only a part of the program was available to the terminated Oregon Indians, i.e., relocation to gain vocational training in either Denver, Los Angeles or San Francisco (Hazard 1955).

A large but undetermined number of the group's members were accepted for such services. Signing up for these, apparently at Goldie McCormack's house, is one of the most widely remembered events among the group (F.D.). The applications, mostly signed by Leonard Allen, "Agency Relocation Officer," usually referred to the "Sutherlin Roll" as their authority (Portland Area Office 1956). Applicants were accepted as Umpqua, Molalla, or Umpqua-Molalla. No "Sutherlin Roll" has been discovered. The Bureau of Indian Affairs stated in 1955 with regard to eligibility of the Public Domain Indians for these services, ". . . In the absence of a published roll for individuals comprising this latter group we accept the Public Domain roll for the purpose of computing tribal membership and thereby for determining the individual eligibility to participate in the program of education and training authorized in Public Law 588" (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1957).

The range of individuals from the Tchinouk families that were accepted for relocation services under the Western Oregon Termination Act was considerably broader than those listed on the last Public Domain roll. That roll, dated 1940, had been expanded over earlier rolls. However, the Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency, in 1944, did cite much larger population figures for Southwestern Oregon Indians than were on the 1940 roll, and noted further that the latter was incomplete, despite its recent updating. This may have been the basis for the granting of termination services to a wider population than had been listed on previous rolls, let alone those who had received services.

The relocation services ended with the effective date of the termination act, August 13, 1956, two years after its passage. There was some carryover of funds and training approved before that date, but some members reported that their training was stopped short of completion (F.D.).

The Tchinouk Indians, 1974 to the Present

The current petitioning organization, the Tchinouk Indians, was created in June 1974, 17 years after the previous organization of the Sutherlin area Indian families (including those at Klamath Falls) had ceased to function as a result of the rejection of their applications as Umpquas for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund. The same group of families were apparently included as had been in the Sutherlin group.

The new organization began in part as a result of conversations between Klamath Falls and Sutherlin area members at the 1973 funeral of one of the family members (F.D.). However, the announcement calling the meeting and early minutes indicate that it was in part in reaction to the activities of the Lower Band of Chinooks, based in Skamokawa, Washington led by Kent Elliot (Lower Band of Chinooks (Oregon) 1974, McKenzie and Summers 1974). This organization, earlier known as the Chinook Nation, was the organization which had presented the Chinook claim in Docket 234 before the Indian Claims Commission. This was the representative organization with which the BIA dealt in handling the prosecution of the claim.

The Oregon families objected that the "Oregon Chinooks" had not been consulted about the disposition of the claim. The immediate cause was the announcement of a hearing on June 8, 1974 to discuss the expenditure of the \$48,700 that was awarded the Chinooks in 1970 and had been appropriated in 1972. The Oregon Tchinouk organization (McKenzie and Summers 1974) indicated that they were not informed of this meeting. In any event, an official of the Portland Area Office of the BIA attended a June 30 meeting of the Oregon group to obtain their views, in supplement to those at the June 8 meeting (Lower Band of Chinooks (Oregon) 1974).

The first meeting of the new organization, titled the Lower Band of Chinook Indians (i.e., the same name as the group in Washington State), was held June 2, 1974, in Sutherlin. It thus predates by about a week the hearing of June 8 in Skamokawa on the Chinook claim. Significantly the organizational call had cited the three main family names, Parazon, Pelland and Pleuard, which, with the additional specification of Pichette, has been the membership definition throughout the history of the organization. There were 42 participants at the June 2 meeting, drawn from all the different family lines and branches of those lines (Lower Band of Chinooks (Oregon) 1974). Participation has continued to be broad in this sense.

The meeting resulted in a petition in which they claimed title to all the land ceded by the Lower Band of Chinooks in their unratified 1851 Tansey Point Treaty. These lands were at the mouth of the Columbia River. It further stated that they had banded together to have representation and Federal funding through the United States Government (Lower Band of Chinooks (Oregon) 1974).

Organizationally the group went through several stages and names. The initial name was evidently copied from the Elliot organization in Washington. In 1975, when the group formed a corporation, the name was changed to Columbia River Tchinouk Indians, Inc. The spelling "Chinook" was occasionally used as well. In 1977, the corporation name was amended to read, Tchinouk Indians, Inc., the present name. The 1977 bylaws refer to the Kooniac and Klatskanie Bands of the Tchinouk. The reasons for the name changes are unknown, but the French style spelling of Tchinouk helps to differentiate them from the Washington groups.

The highest period of activity for this organization was from 1974 to about 1977 or 1978. Thirty meetings had been held by August 19, 1977, with only 10 meetings in the following seven years. There is presently little or no activity of a formally organized kind. In the period of intense activity, from 1974 through 1978, the group carried out or attempted a variety of activities. It does not appear to have received much, if any, outside funding, except for a small grant from a church group to assist it in seeking recognition (F.D.). Otherwise, the group has been supported by member donations and payment of their own expenses by individual members. It initially sought to claim hunting and fishing rights. In connection with its claim to Chinook land on the Columbia River, it made a symbolic visit in 1974 to the mouth of the river. In 1976, it participated

in a protest against a nuclear plant near Rainier, on the Columbia River. Less dramatic activities include participation in local parades and regional celebrations, and in the American Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C. The group testified before the American Indian Policy Review Commission at their hearing in March 1976.

At various times the Tchinouk have participated in local Indian groups in Oregon including the Organization of the Forgotten American, the Committee to Study Restoration (1978), Southern Oregon Indian Research (1978) (all three at Klamath Falls), Affiliated Tribes of the Northwest, and Indian Economic Development, Inc. (IEDI). IEDI was active in 1976 and 1977 and consisted of the Coos (now federally recognized), Upper Umpqua (now federally recognized as the Cow Creek Umpqua), Coquille, Chetco and the Columbia River Chinook Indian Tribe. The latter was listed with an Oakland, Oregon address and O.J. (Joseph) Pelland as representative, and apparently corresponded to the portion of the Tchinouks west of the Cascades. All of the members of the IEDI were unrecognized groups at the time. The organization sought economic development opportunities for Indians in the Coos, Curry and Douglas County area.

The Oregon Commission on Indian Services (1983), an office of the state government, lists the Tchinouk in its guide to Oregon Indian groups, as a terminated tribe. It also lists the "Chinook Tribe" in Oakland, showing it as a terminated tribe as well. The latter is the "Sutherlin branch" of the Tchinouk, led by O.J. Pelland (see below). The Commission (1984) has declined to support or oppose Federal acknowledgment of the Tchinouk, but has made no written, formal comment on the petition. There is no formal process for state recognition of tribes in Oregon.

The Commission did solicit comments from two scholars of Oregon Indians, Steven Beckham and Theodore Stern. Beckham (1984a) stated that he found no documentation for the historical existence of the group. Stern (1984) limited his comments to the group's involvement with the Klamath Reservation, stating that there was no substantiation for their claim to have been brought there as interpreters in the 1870's.

There were contacts with the Lower Chinooks of Washington in 1973, but these were not the first. Some of the Oregon Tchinouks attended meetings of the Chinook Nation, i.e., the group at Skamokawa, Washington, in the 1960's. Some, an unknown number, were enrolled at that time (F.D., Chinook Nation 1963). According to the petitioner, this organization in 1973 declined to enroll more than a few from Oregon (F.D.). There were some later contacts with Washington Chinooks in connection with an organization titled the Tansy Point Ten, which is discussed below. These contacts do not indicate any extensive contact, and there is no overlap in enrollment between the Tchinouk Indians and the Chinook Indian Tribe of Ilwaco, Washington, which is also a petitioner for Federal acknowledgment.

The Chinook Indian Tribe, with the assistance of Dr. Beckham, made a presentation in 1984 to the Oregon Commission on Indian Services seeking to establish that the history of their group was different than that of the Tchinouks. In particular, they took the position that the Tchinouks were not derived from the aboriginal Lower Chinooks, and noted that they were not listed on the 1914 McChesney roll (Lorton 1984).

An effort to seek Federal recognition began early. In 1975, a law professor at the University of Oregon whom the Tchinouks contacted advised them that the termination act did not affect them (Wilkinson 1975). They proposed a recognition bill in 1975, which was sent to Senator Mark Hatfield and possibly other members of the Oregon delegation. It was not determined whether the bill was actually introduced in Congress, but, according to the group, the BIA opposed it. In connection with recognition they

made contact with the Native American Rights Fund in 1977 and received some assistance from that organization (Cantor 1977). The Tchinouks petitioned for Federal acknowledgment under 25 CFR 83 on May 16, 1979.

There have been some major divisions in the organization, often perceived locally in Oregon as the existence of several organizations rather than one. The major line of division has been between the Klamath area families and the families west of the Cascades. The latter has generally been led by O.J. Pelland of Oakland. The division reflects (and is so described by members of the group) the different histories of the families in the two areas. In particular, the Klamath group is seen as the more Indian, accurately reflecting the intermarriage with and social association with the Klamath Indian community (F.D.). Nonetheless, all of the history of the group and the various meetings and organizational forms it has taken indicate that this is a division within one group, not two separate groups. That is, there are significant kin ties and visiting between the two areas. In the past this was even more prevalent.

The minutes of a 1977 meeting stated that there were three bands, Sutherlin, Springfield (near Eugene), and Klamath Falls, i.e., "east of the Cascades, middle of the Cascades and west of the Cascades" (Tchinouk Indians 1977). The Springfield group is a subdivision of those west of the Cascades, i.e., represents families that moved north rather recently from the Douglas County towns.

At intervals, these divisions, particularly between east and west, have developed into open conflicts. One of the more serious conflicts reportedly involved control of the corporation. The corporation was apparently intended to have a rotating chairmanship, but disputes over funds developed and eventually reached court. According to group representatives the court, rather than deciding the case, advised them to seek a resolution among themselves. This was reportedly done by deactivating the corporation. There have also been conflicts over participation by the Sutherlin group in the Indian Economic Development, Inc. organization and over a set of family histories done by group members (Pelland 1978?). One side challenged the other to withdraw from the organization, but it did not do so (Tchinouk Tribal Office n.d).

The largest population concentration is still in the Sutherlin-Oakland area, including some families nearby in Roseburg. There is also a sizeable collection of families in the Klamath Falls area, representing that segment of the group. A sufficient number of families have moved north from Sutherlin to the Eugene-Springfield area to have resulted in the third, "Springfield band," discussed above. There are also some families on the other side of the Coast Range, on the coast and inland, near Powers.

The Tchinouks have had two governing documents. A "Constitution of the Lower Band of Tchinouk Indians," along with bylaws, was adopted February 16, 1975 (Tchinouk Tribe 1975). It referred to potential inclusion of "all ten bands of said Tchinouk Indians," listing ten of the bands which signed treaties at Tansey Point in 1851. The listing included the non-Chinook Tillamook and Klatskanie. The governing structure was to include a board of directors, chairman, co-chairman, secretary, treasurer and eight delegates (four men and four women). The membership requirement called for enrollment of those rejected in 1957 as Tchinouk for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund and their immediate families by blood. In May 1975, a nonprofit corporation was formed for the "unity and well being of members of the Columbia River Tchinouk Indians" (Columbia River Tchinouk Indians, Inc. 1975).

Although not specifically called for in the governing documents, the group has generally designated co-chairmen for the Sutherlin and Springfield divisions, with Karleen (Parazoo) McKenzie the overall chairman.

In May 1977, a revised constitution and bylaws of the "General Council of Tchinouk Indians" were adopted. This placed the governing power in the "general council," apparently the entire body of adult members, and established the offices of tribal chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and peace officer. The enrollment of 1975 was to remain closed. The enrollment criteria called only for proving "Tchinouk Indian ancestry and descendancy by blood." The bylaws stated "We are the Tchinouk Tribe of Indians of the Kooniac and Klatskania Bands . . ." despite the non-Chinookan nature of the Klatskania Band. The 1977 constitution also incorporated a reference to the Tchinouk Tribal Office, which had been established at Karleen Parazoo's residence. The name of the corporation was changed in June 1977 to Tchinouk Indians, Incorporated.

Although the governing documents provide only a general statement, the enrollment criteria for the group have consistently been ancestry from the Pleuard, Pelland and Parazoo family lines, with Pichette intended but sometimes omitted from statements (Tchinouk Tribe 1975, Tchinouk Tribal Office 1974-84). The group is conceived of as the members of a related set of families and membership thought of not merely as descendancy from and/or blood degree of derived from a particular aboriginal tribe (F.D.). The membership forms a limited and fairly coherent set of related family lines, although not closely intermarried with each other.

Between 1977 and 1979, Karleen (Parazoo) McKenzie attempted to create a wider organization, the Confederated Treaty Tribes of Tansy (sic) Point, sometimes referred to as the Tansy Point Ten (Tansy Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands 1978?, 1978-9). The name refers to the ten bands which signed treaties in 1851 at Tansey Point. A draft constitution and bylaws were developed by a task force, and issued under Parazoo's signature. The organization made some efforts at getting funding, and was considering seeking recognition under the acknowledgment regulations which were under development in 1977 and 1978. Some interest was expressed by some of the Clatsop and some Chinooks from Washington. It does not appear that the organization of this group was completed or that it functioned after 1979. There was a considerable degree of overlap between the organization and the Tchinouk Indians, Inc. organization.

Identification as Indian

Historical evidence about the identification of the Tchinouk families raises three different questions: identification of a group or community as Indian, identification of individuals as Indian as opposed to non-Indian, and the varying tribal identifications of different individuals when they identified themselves as Indian or were so identified by others.

No historical identification was found of a group or a community of these families as Indian until the 1920's when the first claims organization was founded. This organization and its successors was identified as a group of Umpquas but not, as far as could be determined, as a community. There was some local identification of individuals from the Sutherlin area families as Indians between 1880 and 1920, but not consistently so. This was based on a perception of them as "half breeds," and not as members of a distinct community. There is little supporting evidence of significant social distinctions accompanying this identification during this period, e.g., marriage prohibitions, separate churches or schools, etc.

Between 1880 and 1930 individuals from the Sutherlin area families were frequently identified in local records as white or identified themselves as white. Marriage certificates of individuals from the immediate four families in the current Tchinouk group usually identified the individuals as white. One certificate did report the "color" of both parties as "French," perhaps an indication that part of the separate identification was the French ancestry (Douglas County 1852-1953). Of eight World War I draft cards located, six listed the individuals as white (U.S. War Department 1915-19). One of the two identified as Indian was from the Klamath Falls area, where Indian identification of the families was much stronger.

The 1880 Federal Census for Douglas County consistently identifies those families of Sutherlin area Indians which were in the area at the time as Indian. Only a few, peripheral families were listed on the 1870 census. Listed on the 1880 census as Indian were Rock (sic) and Victoria Pichette, Rosalie Pelland, Isaac Jarvas (Gervais), Meshe (Mace) and Nancy Tipton, Thomas Rondeau and Antoine and Mary McKay and other McKays. No Parazoos were shown. The 1900 census for Douglas County reported only Louis and Joseph Parazoo as Indian among the Sutherlin area families. They were listed in Douglas County on the Indian schedule as 3/4 Molalla. The 1900 and 1910 census for Douglas County listed all other relevant individuals as white except the children of Onesime Pelland, for whom racial identification was omitted (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910).

The variable nature of self-identification and identification by others is evident. Joseph and Louis Parazoo, identified as Indian on the 1900 census, identified themselves as Indian or "of French and Indian blood," in probate hearings in 1916 (Klamath Agency 1916). Their uncle, Charles Parazoo, from a part of the family with no Chinook ancestry, identified himself as white in a hearing in 1939 (C. Parazoo 1939). Nonetheless, in 1915 the Roseburg newspaper identified a cousin of Joseph and Louis Parazoo, again from a line with no Chinook ancestry, as a "half-breed" (Parazoo Collection n.d.). This drew an angry protest from his mother that they were not "half-breeds" and had "never lived like Indians." She implied that she considered the Klamath Falls area relatives with whom the cousin had gone to live, however, to be Indian. The exchange of letters and the other evidence discussed above fits oral history accounts that indicate that certain families in the Sutherlin area were thought of as Indian or mixed-blood, even as late as the 1930's (F.D.).

With the claims organizations, identification apparently became more overt. One factor in early identification appears to be the degree of association with the scattered individuals who were closer to full-blood, e.g., Mace Tipton. There was certainly some continuing degree of self-identification and identification by others as Indian, but not a consistent one. Even Indian Service records don't consistently identify the Tchinouk ancestors as Indian, even where some family members were receiving services (Klamath Agency 1910-12, 1911, 1923).

Specific tribal identifications over the course of time present a variable and not fully comprehensible pattern. Various family members at various times have identified themselves as Chinook, Umpqua, and Molalla, and occasionally other tribal backgrounds as well.

The Pichettes appear to have been usually identified in Indian Service records as Chinook, e.g., on the Public Domain allotment list and for those appearing on the Grand Ronde and Public Domain Indian rolls after 1925 (when tribal identifications were added to the rolls). Some are listed on the later rolls as Chinook-Umpqua. The tribal identifications in the records for the Parazoos before the 1930's were as Molalla,

including self-identifications. This identification appears quite frequently. Some of those from the Klamath area are reported on school records as Klamath, but this appears to be simply an erroneous identification based on origins on the Klamath Reservation (Klamath Agency 1923). The source of the Molalla identification is unclear. The Molallas were a separate cultural and linguistic group, not related to the Upper Umpquas (or the Chinooks), although from the area just east of the Upper Umpquas and hence near Sutherlin. There are some Molallas as a minority population on the Klamath Reservation (Gatschet 1890), and this may in some way have reflected on the Parazoos as "foreign Indians" on Klamath. The Parazoos don't appear, as far as could be determined, as Umpquas in Bureau records until the 1930's, i.e., after the Umpqua claims movement (cf. below).

The Pellands rarely appear in early Bureau records. Louis Pelland appears on the 1932 Grand Ronde Agency Public Domain roll as "Upper Chinook," the only Pelland to appear on the rolls. Rosale Pelland's Public Domain allotment lists her as Spokane (Siletz n.d.), although her ancestry was identified elsewhere as Chinook (Warner and Munnick 1972). Two Parazoos who were Pellands by marriage were listed on the rolls before 1940, as Umpqua. No Pleuards appear on the rolls at all and no other sources were found that identified them as Indian before 1940.

Thus, if any pattern appears at all, it is that the Umpqua identification was a late phenomenon and probably the result of the Umpqua claims movement that drew in mixed-bloods of all variety from the Umpqua Valley after 1922. The area is Upper Umpqua territory except for the north end, around Drain, which was inhabited by Yoncalla Calapuyas. It is clear, however, that tribal identifications were somewhat uncertain and variable.

The petitioner notes that they applied in 1955 for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund as Molallas and Umpquas, and were denied, being determined to be of Chinook and also Cree descent. They state that they were instructed to do so by the BIA, but it appears that these identifications may have been self-generated. On the other hand, kinship charts sent in by them in 1949, i.e., prematurely, before the process for application for the Western Oregon Judgment Fund was established, show that they had traced their ancestry fairly completely by that time to their Chinook ancestors (Portland Area Office 1957). Some of those submitting charts identified themselves as "Chinooks of the Upper Umpqua Band." Thus there appears to have been differing beliefs, and confusion on the part of some between Umpqua and Chinook.

The actual Indian ancestry of the Tchinouk families, as opposed to how they were identified, is largely Chinook. Which kind of Chinook, i.e., which of the aboriginal bands they are descended from could not be reliably determined. Indian agent McChesney in 1913 determined that the Pichettes were not from the Lower Chinook (Pichette 1913). Oral history that the early ancestors of the Parazoos and Pichettes were daughters of Chief Comcomley of the Lower Chinooks could not be confirmed. Both the Parazoo and Pichette lines are thus part "Chinook" of an undetermined kind. Both are also part Cree. The Pellands are effectively a branch of the Pichette's, also married into the Parazoos. The Pleuards share the "Chinook" ancestor of the Parazoos. The Pleuards are also derived from the Rondeau family, frequently identified as Umpqua. No verification of this latter tribal background was made.

GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE TCHINOUK INDIANS

- 83.7(d)** A copy of the group's present governing document, or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.

The Tchinouk group meets the criteria in 83.7(d) of the Acknowledgment regulations. The group submitted several current and previous governing documents which indicate how the group governs its affairs and its member and describes membership criteria and procedures. The documents include the "Bylaws of the General Council of Tchinouk Indians" and the "Constitution . . . General Council of Tchinouk Indians . . . Amended" and a document entitled, "Rights: Including All Rights of the American Indian Civil Rights for the General Council of Tchinouk Indians" all dated 6 May 1977. Membership criteria and procedures are included in the governing documents. Both are discussed further in 83.7(e).

- 83.7(e)** A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descendency from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

The Tchinouk Indian group meets the criteria in 83.7(e) of the Acknowledgment regulations. The group submitted a membership list with the documented petition identifying 269 members. On 15 September 1982 the group submitted an updated membership list incorporating additions and deletions due to births, deaths, marriages, changes of residence and corrected blood degree calculations. One name was removed from the membership list when the individual was determined not to have Tchinouk ancestry. The current membership list now includes 304 individuals.

Although the group's 1977 constitution indicates the membership rolls are closed, additional members have been added since that date. Criteria for membership in the Tchinouk Indian groups are provided in the "Bylaws of the General Council of Tchinouk Indians" Article III, dated 6 May 1977. The criteria require proof of "Tchinouk Indian ancestry and descendency by blood to the satisfaction and manner in which the enrollment is made. Adopted persons and Indians enrolled with other tribes, will not be enrolled."

Applicants for membership are required to complete enrollment forms. The application form used by the Tchinouk Indian group for membership, titled "(Columbia River) Tchinouk Indian Enrollment," states ". . . this enrollment being for those having rejection papers of 1954-59 and being of the families of the Parazoo, Pelland, Plueard, or bloodlines of same." The rejection papers of 1954-59 refer to letters of rejection from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland Area Office indicating that applicants were not eligible to share in the Western Oregon Judgment Fund Act of 1954 (WOJF). The act is discussed in further detail in a later section. The phrase ". . . being of the families of the Parazoo, Pelland, Plueard, or bloodline of same" means that the membership is limited to a few families or that the current members are intermarried. Both assumptions will be discussed later in this report.

The group's spokesperson verbally indicated that the governing body makes the determination on applications for membership. There is no minimum Indian blood degree requirement for membership in the group although the group calculates the degree for their purposes.

The Tchinouks claim to descend from the Lower and Middle Band of Chinook Indians who inhabited the north shore of the mouth of the Columbia River in southwestern Washington. Historically, the Lower Chinook are distinguished from the Upper Chinook by their dialect, culture and location.

The Tchinouk group further claims their ancestry to the Lower Band of Chinook Indians through Chief Comcomley, a Lower Chinook who met the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805 at the mouth of the Columbia River. Comcomley is frequently identified as the tribe's most noteworthy historical leader (Hodge 1907-10).

Oral history is the only evidence submitted by the Tchinouk group to support their claim of a relationship to Chief Comcomley. Written records of genealogical value for this early period are understandably limited. Although several published materials make reference to numerous descendants of Chief Comcomley, none of them prove a relationship between Chief Comcomley and the Tchinouks. Research conducted by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, could not conclusively establish the relationship.

Two hundred eighty-seven (287) members of the petitioning group, or approximately 94 percent of the total membership can, however, document their ancestry to one of two Chinook individuals: Lisette Tchinouk who married Joseph Federick Despard, and an unnamed Chinook woman who married Jean Baptiste Perrault. There are numerous records available of genealogical value for ancestors of the current group beginning with these early Chinook ancestors to the present time. Since approximately 94 percent of the current members of the petitioning group can trace their ancestry to either one or both of these two families, most of the genealogical research conducted was directed toward gathering evidence for these families.

Family of the Unnamed Chinook Woman

The unnamed Chinook woman who married Jean Baptiste Perrault is the earliest known Chinook ancestor of one family line. Many individuals have suggested that this unnamed woman may have been a daughter of Chief Comcomley. The following discussion of her husband, Jean Baptiste Perrault discusses this possibility.

. . . He was an early settler on French Prairie, his claim lying on the east side of the Willamette River near the mouth of the Yamhill. His earlier wife is recorded only as a 'chinook woman.' One writer (Steeves) states that Perrault's daughter, who married Jean Baptiste Dequire, was a first cousin to Dr. William McKay, son of Tom McKay. As William's mother was a daughter of Chief Comcomley, it would seem that Perrault's un-named Chinook wife was also a daughter of the old chief (Munnick and Warner 1979).

Although records regarding the unnamed woman are limited, we know she probably died prior to 1839 and that she had several children. One of her children, Reinette (Perrault) Larrison is the ancestor of members of the current petitioning group. Records concerning Reinette's marriage shed light on her mother's ancestry:

This 11 July, 1842 . . . bans of marriage . . . between John Larison domiciled and farmer of this place, legitimate son of John Larison and Nancy Galaspa, domiciled in the State of Ohio, United States, on one part, and Reinette Perrault, domiciled in this place, legitimate daughter of Jean Baptiste Perrault, farmer of this place, and of Tchinouk, on the other part . . ." (Munnick and Warner 1979).

Birth, baptismal and marriage records of Reinette's siblings also confirm the relationship between Reinette and the unnamed Chinook woman.

Some researchers have erroneously identified Angele Chehalis as Reinette's mother. Angele Chehalis married John Baptiste Perrault after the death of the unnamed Tchinouk woman, Reinette's mother. Harriett Duncan Munnick's discussion of Reine (or Reinette) Perrault is accurate:

It would appear that Rene was stepdaughter to Angele Tchelis; at the time of her marriage her mother was the un-named Tchinouk who was also the mother of Marie Anne. This un-named woman may have been a daughter of Chief Comcomley . . . (Warner and Munnick 1972).

The relationship between Reinette and her mother, the unnamed Tchinouk woman, has been established based on a review of the numerous records of genealogical value. All descendants of this family can further trace their ancestry to one daughter of Reinette (Perrault) and John G. Larrison, Ellen or Helen(e) Larrison who married Louis Pariseau.

Lisette Tchinouk Family

Lisette Tchinouk, the earliest known Chinook ancestor of one of the families, is frequently referred to in the early Catholic mission records, including one made at "Walamette" in 1839.

This 21 January, 1839, . . . between Joseph Despard of Saint Hyacinthe, District of Montreal, Canada, and now farmer of this place, on the one part, and Lisette Tchinouke by nation on the other part, . . . we priest undersigned, Missionary have received their mutual consent of marriage . . . whom the spouses have recognized as their legitimate children Joseph aged 12 years, Marie Anne aged 5 years, Rose aged 3 years, and Marguerite aged 1 year the 18 April next . . ." (emphasis added) (Warner and Munnick 1979).

The use of the surname Tchinouk in this particular situation is determined to indicate Tchinouk/Chinook Indian blood. A review of the early Catholic Church records indicates that identifying individuals by tribal affiliation in this manner was a common practice. The record cited specifically indicates, "Lisette Tchinouk by nation." This conclusion is supported by a variety of other records reviewed. Hodge's discussion of Chinook summarizes the numerous spellings used by early historians for the term Chinook which include Tsinuk, Cheenook, Chinucs, Tchinouks and Tchinoos (Hodge 1907-10).

Lisette Tchinouk's spouse, Joseph Frederick Despard, who was born in Canada, is listed as one of the Pioneers of the Oregon Territory, Marion County (Van Valin and Paul 1951). He is included on the first assessment list for Oregon's provisional government in 1844,

the first Federal population census taken of the Oregon Territory in 1850, and he received land in Marion County as a result of an Oregon Donation land claim.

Lisette (Tchinouk) Despard had several children. One of them, Victoria (Despard) Pichette is the ancestor by which all members of this family line descend. Victoria was born about 1843 and married Roc Pichette (Munnick and Warner 1972). Family relationships are confirmed in her marriage record to Pichette:

This 21 July, 1858, after the publication of one bann of marriage . . . between Roque Picket, son of Louis Picket and of Marguerite Bercier, of this place on the one part, and Victorire Despar, minor daughter of Joseph Despar of this place, and of Lisette Chinook, deceased on the other part . . ." (Munnick and Warner 1979).

On 13 June 1892 Victoria (Despard) Pichette identified herself as a "halfblood Indian of the Chinook Tribe" on her application for allotment of land at Roseburg, Oregon. Family relationships are confirmed by a variety of records reviewed including birth and baptismal records, Federal population census, Oregon Donation Land Claim records and others.

Inter-Family Ties

Two sisters, Ada and Evelyn (Pelland) of the Lisette Tchinouk family married two brothers, Henry and Joseph Parazoo (Pariseau) of the unnamed Tchinouk woman's family. As a result of these two marriages, 126 members, or approximately 41 percent of the total current membership can trace ancestry to both Lisette Tchinouk and the unnamed Tchinouk woman.

Ineligible Members

Seventeen members, or approximately 6 percent of the total membership, have not been determined to be of Tchinouk ancestry. One member does not meet the group's membership criteria because he is not a member of one of the families identified as eligible: "the Parazoo, Pelland, Plueard or bloodline of same." The Tchinouk spokesperson verbally indicated the individual would be removed from the membership list.

The petitioners did not submit any genealogical information for sixteen members of the Tchinouk group. Research conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicates that six of them are closely related and may descend from Sauk-so, a Lower Chinook who married Abraham Quenelle. Sauk-so is not considered to be one of the eligible ancestors and her descendants are not of the Parazoo, Pelland, or Plueard families. Research conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland Area Office in conjunction with the Western Oregon Judgment Fund, determined that these individuals may be able to trace their ancestry to Lower Chinook. The ancestry has not been confirmed by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research. Insufficient information was submitted for another ten members, therefore their ancestry could not be determined and they are not considered eligible. Ineligible members represent 6 percent of the total current membership of the Tchinouk group. Some of these individuals have the same surnames as those individuals with demonstrated Chinook ancestry and appear to be closely related to them. However, their Chinook ancestry has not yet been proven.

Summary

Members of the current group have been determined to trace their ancestry as follows:

<u>Eligible Ancestors</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Lisette Tchinouk family	51
Unnamed Tchinouk woman	110
Lisette Tchinouk and the unnamed Tchinouk woman	<u>126</u>
Total Eligible	287
<u>Ineligible</u>	
Not eligible/Insufficient information	<u>17</u>
Total Members	304

While most of the members can trace their Chinook ancestry, we are not able to distinguish whether the ancestry is Upper, Middle, or Lower Chinook bands. None of the records identifying ancestors of the current group as Tchinouk specify which band.

Previous Tchinouk Membership List

The Tchinouk group submitted an earlier undated membership list entitled "Members of the Lower Band of Chinook Indians of Oregon." The group spokesperson indicated the list was prepared about 1974 "when we first got together." The list is numbered to 189 with five names removed, resulting in a list of 184 members. Generally the 1974 list includes the same individuals as the current list but the current list has added several families. Generally these new members also trace their ancestry to Lisette Tchinouk and/or the unnamed Tchinouk woman.

Western Oregon Judgment Fund (WOJF)

The Act of August 30, 1954 (Public Law 715) authorized preparation of rolls of persons of Indian blood whose ancestors were members of certain tribes in Oregon for per capita payments resulting from claims awards. Rolls were prepared for the WOJF of the Confederate Bands of the Umpqua Tribe, Calapuya residing in Umpqua Valley, Tillamook, Coquille, Tututni and Chetco Tribes of Oregon.

- Approximately 103 of the current members of the petitioning group were living on the date of the act, and therefore, could possibly have made application. Of the 103 individuals, approximately 74 (or 71 percent) of those members living at the time have been identified as having made application for enrollment as Indians of either the Molalla or the Umpqua Tribe. The applications were rejected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the basis that the individuals were found to be of Chinook Indian ancestry and other tribes not eligible under the act.

Ancestors and current members of the Tchinouk Indian group have previously identified themselves and have been identified by others as being affiliated with tribes other than Chinook. The confused identity is at least partially due to intermarriage and the history of the Western Oregon tribes. The Portland Area Office summarized the situation in 1955:

. . . the Western Oregon situation is an unusual one. We have tribes, bands, remnants of tribes and individuals living on the Oregon coast or moved here in 1854 and 1855. Efforts were made to locate them on two reservations, Siletz and Grand Ronde. Some moved and some stayed at their location. Some moved and left the reservation. Some never did move. Some forty years later allotments were made to these residents on the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations. The total result was a splitting up of tribal groups, a scattering of the people and, as mentioned, tribal blood groups that have members on the Siletz Reservation also have members up and down the Oregon Coast (Portland Area Office 1955).

Many ancestors of the petitioning group married non-Indians resulting in further confusion as to their identity. While the ancestors were referred to as Chinook in earlier years, they were later erroneously identified as Molalla or Umpqua, including identification by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they received Bureau services on that basis. In 1957 the same individuals were rejected for participation in the Western Oregon Judgment Fund on the basis that they were not Molalla or Umpqua but of Chinook and other Indian blood.

Affiliation with Other Tribes

Other tribal rolls were examined in order to determine affiliation of members with other tribes including:

- Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians - Final Roll published 20 July 1956.
- Census of Grand Ronde 1 April 1931.
- Membership Roll of the Confederate Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community, Oregon Approved 5 July 1941.
- Indian Census Roll of the Public Domain Reservation of the Grand Ronde-Siletz jurisdiction 1 January 1940.
- Members of Klamath Tribe of Indians - Notice of Final Roll 21 November 1957.
- Schedule of Roseburg Allotments, 1918.
- Current Roll of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe per telephone conversation with Rosebud Agency 1984.
- McChesney Final Roll of 15 November 1906.

The Tchinouk group is determined to meet the criteria in 25 CFR 83.7(e). Two hundred eighty-seven members, or approximately 94 percent of the total membership, meet the group's membership criteria. These members descend from two Chinook women who married French-Canadian settlers in the 1830s and 1840s.

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

The Tchinouk group's governing documents discussion of membership criteria specifically states, "Indians enrolled with other tribes, will not be enrolled." The group appears to have reviewed previous membership lists and has deleted any individuals that may have been enrolled with any North American Indian Tribe. One member of the group was removed from an earlier roll because she was a member of Rosebud Sioux Tribe. The Rosebud Sioux Agency, however, indicates one other sibling on the current Tchinouk membership roll is also currently enrolled on the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's roll.

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1955-1984 Criminal Arrest Files. County Courthouse. Roseburg, Oregon.

Klamath County Clerk

1919-1984 Military Discharge Records. County Courthouse. Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Klamath County Sheriff

1955-1984 Criminal Arrest Files. County Courthouse. Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Oregon State Archives

1845-1849 Land Claim Records. Provisional Government of Oregon. State Archives. Salem, Oregon.

1856-1858 Assessment Roll, Marion County. Territorial Government Documents.

1903-1950 Health Board, Death Indexes. Oregon State Archives. Salem, Oregon.

1907-1948 Marriage Returns. Douglas County. Oregon State Archives. Salem, Oregon.

Petitioner Organization Documents

Columbia River Tchinouk Indians, Inc.

1975 Articles of Incorporation and Certificate of Incorporation from the State of Oregon, Department of Commerce. May 7. Pet. A.

1975-7 Applications for Enrollment with the Columbia River Tchinouk Indians. Pet.

1976 Statement Presented to American Indian Policy Review Commission Task Force No. 10 on Termination and Non-Federally Recognized Indians. March 13. Salem, Oregon. TTO.

General Council of Tchinouk Indians

1977 Constitution and Bylaws. May 6. TTO.

Lower Band of Chinooks (Oregon)

1974 Minutes of Meetings of June 2, 3, 16, 30 and July 21. Pet.

Lower Band of Tchinouk Indians

1974 Constitution and Bylaws. TTO.

McKenzie, Karleen Parazoo and Claudette Summers
1974 Announcement Concerning the Lower Band of Tchinouk of the Columbia
River. May 8. TTO.

Parazoo, Karleen F.
1982 Letter from Tchinouk Tribal Chairperson to Federal Acknowledgment
Project. September 20. BAR.

Tchinouk Indians
1977 Minutes of June 19 General Council Meeting. Pet.

Tchinouk Indians, Inc.
1977 Amendment to Articles of Incorporation. March 19. Tchinouk Tribal
Office Files, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Tchinouk Tribal Office
n.d. Miscellaneous Files. Klamath Falls, Oregon.

1974-1984 Minutes of Meetings (Under various titles). Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Tchinouk Tribe
1977 Oral History Statements written by Members. TTO.

Documents of Other Organizations

Anonymous
1977 Unsigned letter from Representative for Oregon Coast Urban Indian Council
to Anna Belle Dement, Secretary for Indian Economic Development, Inc.
January 18. TTO.

Chinook Nation
n.d. Membership cards for Karleen McKenzie, Alice McKenzie and others. Pet.

Chinook Tribe
1963 Questionnaire for Enrollment in the Chinook Tribe. Sample filled out by
Robert Parazoo, February 2. TTO.

Clayton, Eva
1974 Letter to Karlene (sic) McKenzie Secretary of Confederated Indian Tribes
of Western Oregon. September 19. TTO.

Committee Representing the Umpqua, etc.
1922 Minutes of Meeting of the Committee Representing the Umpqua and Other
Tribes of Indians of Southeastern Oregon. June 10. Response No. 1, Item
3. Answers to Defendant's First Set of Interrogatories. Cow Creek Band
of Umpqua v. U.S., Court of Claims 58-81L.

Committee to Study Restoration
1978 Minutes of May 13, Meeting of the Committee to Study Restoration,
Klamath Falls, Oregon. TTO.

Confederated Tribes and Bands of Western Oregon

1963 Minutes of a Meeting. December 13. Grand Ronde-Siletz. Tribal Program Records. FARC-S, Box 163.

Consolidated Tribes of Western Oregon

1922 Minutes of a meeting of February 15. Interrogatory Response No. 4, Item 6, Answers to Defendants First Set of Interrogatories. Cow Creek Band of Umpqua v. U.S., Court of Claims 58-81L.

Crispen, Ellen

1926 Letter from Acting Secretary of the Umpqua Indians to Senator Charles McNary. November 22. Response No. 4, Item 26. Answers to Defendant's First Set of Interrogatories. Cow Creek Band of Umpqua v. U.S., Court of Claims 58-81L.

General Council of Indians West of the Cascades

1935 Minutes of a Meeting of the Indians Residing or entitled to Reside West of the Cascades. October 20. Grand Ronde-Siletz, Tribal Program Records. FARC-S, Box 163.

Indian Economic Development, Inc.

1976 Descriptive Sheet concerning Indian Economic Development, Inc., Coos, Curry and Douglas County, Oregon. TTO.

Indians Living in the Umpqua Valley

1936 Proceedings of a Council Meeting at Tiller, Oregon, December 12. Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency, Tribal Program Records. FARC-S, Box 163.

Lorton, Ralph

1984 Letter from Chairman, Chinook Tribe, Inc. to Branch of Acknowledgment and Research. December 7. (enclosing Statement of December 6 before the Oregon Commission of Indian Services).

McKenzie, Karleen P.

1978a Letter from President of Confederated Treaty Tribes of Tansy Point to Administration for Native Americans. August 2. TTO.

1978b A Proposal to Group the Tansy Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands. February 8. TTO.

Meriwether, Steven

1976 Letter from Secretary of the Chinook Indian Tribe, Inc. May 1. TTO.

Plueand, Louis

1935 Proceedings of a Council Meeting of the General Council of Indians residing or entitled to Reside on Umpqua and Callappia. October 13. Grand Ronde-Siletz Tribal Program Record. FARC-S, Box 163.

Roseburg Chamber of Commerce

1925 Letter from Roseburg, Oregon Chamber of Commerce to the Committee Promoting Indian Convention for the Indians, incorporating signed agreement. Response No. 4, Item 14, Answers to Defendant's First Set of Interrogatories. Cow Creek Band of Umpqua v. U.S., Court of Claims 58-81L.

Southern Oregon Indian Research, Inc.

1978 Minutes of September 18. Meeting of Southern Oregon Indian Research. TTO.

Southern Oregon Indians

1936 Minutes of Council Meeting, June 10. Portland Area Office (BIA), Tribal Operations Branch, Southern Oregon Claims Folder, Western Oregon Termination Program, 1954-1960. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 94.

Sutherlin Group of Indians

1947 Proceedings of a Council Meeting. February 2. Portland Area Office (BIA), Tribal Operations Branch, Southern Oregon Claims Folder, Western Oregon Termination Program, 1954-1960. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 94.

Sutherlin and Little River Indians

1935 Minutes of Meeting held at Little River, Oregon. May 13. Portland Area Office, Tribal Operations Branch, Southern Oregon. Claims Folder, Western Oregon Termination Program, 1954-1960. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 94.

Tansy Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands

1978 Constitution and By Laws. March 16. TTO.

1978? Announcement to Tansy Point Ten Treaty Tribes and Bands, signed by Karleen McKenzie. TTO.

1978-9 Minutes of Meetings. Incorporated with Minutes of Tchinouk Indians, 1974-8. TTO.

Censuses and Rolls

Bureau of the Census

1850 Federal Population Census for Marion County Oregon for 1850. NARS, Microcopy M432, Roll 742.

1870 Federal Population Census for 1870, Douglas County, Oregon. NARS, Microcopy M593, Roll 1285.

1880 Federal Population Census. Douglas County, Oregon. NARS, RG 29, Microcopy T9, Roll 1080-1.

1900 Federal Population Census. NARS, RG 29, Microcopy T623, Roll 1346.

1910 Federal Population Census for 1910. Douglas County, Oregon. NARS, Microcopy T624, Roll 1280.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

1941 Membership Roll of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community, Oregon. Portland Area Office (BIA), Portland, Oregon.

1957 Separate Roll of the Indians of the Blood of the Umpqua and Callappaia Tribe, Prepared Pursuant to the Act of August 30, 1954. PAO.

Cow Creek Umpqua

- 1981 List of Enrolled Members. Response Item 14A, Answers to Defendant's First Set of Interrogatories. Cow Creek Band of Umpqua v. U.S., Court of Claims 58-81L.

Grand Ronde Agency

- 1885-1914 Grand Ronde Agency Indian Census Rolls, NARS, RG 75, Microcopy 595, Roll 169.

Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency

- 1907 Grand Ronde Reservation Annuity Payrolls. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 180.
- 1926 Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency Indian School Census. Register of Indian Families, 1922-1927. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 169.
- 1940 Indian Census Rolls. Grand Ronde Reservation, Fourth Section Allotees. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 45622.

Klamath Agency

- 1885-1939 Klamath Reservation Indian Census Rolls. NARS, Microcopy M595, Rolls 224-228.
- 1920 Annuity Payrolls, 1920-1923. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 992, Klamath Reservation.
- 1954 Register of Births and Deaths. 1916-1954. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 601.

Klamath Tribe

- 1957 Final Roll of Klamath Tribe, November 21. FARC-S, RG 75, Box 1281.

McChesney, Chas. E.

- 1907 Roll of the Lower Chinook Tribe of Indians Alive August 9, 1851. In House Documents, Vol. 48, Document No. 133, GPO, Washington, D.C.
- 1914 Annuity Payroll. Roll of Individuals Paid under Payment to the Lower Band of Chinook Indians of Washington Pursuant to an Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, 37 Stat. 1518-35. PAO.

Oregon Territory

- 1845 Census of Champoeg County, 1845. Oregon State Archives. Salem, Oregon.
- 1849 Census of 1849 for Champoeg County. Oregon State Archives.

Rosebud Agency

- 1984 Rosebud Sioux Tribe Membership Roll, Rosebud, South Dakota.

Roseburg Agency

- 1915-1917 Roseburg Agency Indian Census Rolls. NARS, RG 75, Microcopy M595, Roll 446.

Siletz Agency

n.d. Schedule of Roseburg Allotments Giving General Information Regarding Same. Portland Area Office.

1885-1925 Siletz Agency Indian Census Rolls. NARS, RG 75, Microcopy M595, Rolls 505-506.

Salem Agency

1926-1939 Indian Census Rolls (Grand Ronde-Siletz). NARS, RG 75, Microcopy M595, Rolls 458-459.

Tchinouk Tribe

1974 Tchinouk Membership Roll. Tchinouk Tribal Office, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

1981? Tchinouk Membership Roll. Pet. A.

1982 Changes or additions to the Tchinouk Indian Roll. In K.F. Parazoo 1982.

U.S. House of Representatives

1906 Rolls of Certain Indian Tribes in Oregon and Washington. H.R. Doc No. 133, 59th Cong., 2d Sess.

Field Data (F.D.)

Research was conducted in Sutherlin and other parts of Douglas County and in Klamath Falls, Oregon on June 5, between July 7 and July 13, and between July 15 and July 23, 1984 for the purpose of verifying and adding to the information submitted in the petition.

Abbreviations

BAR Branch of Acknowledgment and Research Files.
FARC-S Federal Archives and Records Center - Seattle.
FARC-SF Federal Archives and Records Center - San Francisco.
NARS National Archives and Records Services, Washington, D.C.
PAO Portland Area Office (BIA) Records
Pet. Petition of the Tchinouk Indians.
Pet. A Materials Submitted as Addenda to Tchinouk Petition.
RG Record Group (in National Archives and Records Centers). All references are to Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, unless otherwise cited.
TTO Files in the Tchinouk Tribal Office, Klamath Falls, Oregon.